

National Municipal Review

Vol. XXX, No. 7

Total Number 301

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for July 1941

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS.....	<i>H. P. J.</i>	394
EDITORIAL COMMENT.....	<i>A. W.</i>	395
IN RECOGNITION OF THE NATIVE-BORN NEW VOTER		
	<i>R. J. Colbert</i>	397
THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEM—1941.....	<i>Thomas H. Reed</i>	400
WINNING THE BILLBOARD WAR.....	<i>Albert S. Bard</i>	409
CIVIL SERVICE AND CITIZEN OPINION.....	<i>Robert S. Avery</i>	412
THE HATCH ACT—AN INTERPRETATION.....	<i>Joseph R. Starr</i>	418
CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW.....		426
NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE CITIES.....	<i>Daniel W. Hoan</i>	427
THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST.....		432
NEWS IN REVIEW.....		435
Editors: <i>H. M. Olmsted</i> , City, State, Nation, 435; <i>Elwood N. Thompson</i> , Citizen Action, 439; <i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i> , County and Township, 444; <i>Wade S. Smith</i> , Taxation and Finance, 447; <i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i> , Proportional Representation, 450.		
BOOKS IN REVIEW.....	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	455

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

COPYRIGHT JULY 1941 BY
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

Three New League Council Members

The election of three additional members of the League's council has just been announced by President Winant and the League's Executive Committee:

John Cowles, president of the *Minneapolis Star-Journal*, vice-president of *Look Magazine* and the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*, and a director of the Associated Press;

C. G. Hoag, trustee of the C. F. Taylor Trust, honorary secretary of the Proportional Representation League (now affiliated with the National Municipal League), and co-author (with George H. Hallett, Jr.) of *Proportional Representation* (Macmillan 1926);

Ralph B. Maltby, finance commissioner of Bronxville, New York, and president of the St. Regis Paper Company.

Model State Constitution

A final draft of the League's new model state constitution is now in the hands of all members of the Committee on Revision of the Model State Constitution for correction and approval. Professor W. Brooke Graves, of Temple University, is chairman of the committee. It is expected the document will be ready for publication this fall.

League Officials in the News

President Winant, now U. S. Ambassador to the Court of St. James, on a flying visit to this country, found time during his busy schedule to confer with the League's secretary on League problems. Mr. Winant has returned to London.

The League notes with regret the retirement of its former president, **Charles Evans Hughes**, as chief justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. Justice Hughes was president of the League in 1920 and 1921.

C. A. Dykstra, president of the League from 1937 to 1940, has resigned as chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board as of July 1 to devote his full time to his duties as president of the University of Wisconsin.

S. Howard Evans, the League's director of education project, is serving as acting assistant director of the Office of Civilian Defense, of which Mayor F. H. LaGuardia is director.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

County 'Statesmen' in Action

THE historian of some future day, trying to define our conception of democracy as of the year 1941, will be puzzled by the recent oratorical display in Westchester County, an area suburban to New York City which is frequently referred to as the wealthiest county in the United States.

For all its estates and exclusive communities, Westchester still has a fairly average type of population. It has cities with industries, foreign-born population, and slums. It has ordinary "middle-class" villages. And, of course, it has its typical county politicians.

Westchester in recent years has won claim to distinction in addition to its wealth and populousness. It became one of the handful of counties which reorganized their antiquated, headless form of government. For nearly two and one-half years it has had an elected county executive in whom considerable responsibility was concentrated.

There also has been a growing popular demand, in line with the trend in cities, for a small legislative body. Recently the demand became too great to resist and the present board of supervisors, numbering forty-four, voted grudgingly to permit the people to vote in November on a plan to reduce its number to ten or twelve members repre-

senting population groups of 50,000.

The board had the effrontery to amend the resolution by inserting the statement that it "firmly believes the proposed amendment inadvisable"; but the flights of oratory in which its members indulged as they wrestled with themselves were even more amazing, if hackneyed. They will undoubtedly puzzle the future historian.

A few samples: "I would be a traitor to my ancestors [who fought in the Revolutionary War] if I joined such a move. . . . It would allow a county dictator to collect our taxes but do nothing to save our souls and our properties . . . taxation without representation . . . would wipe out constitutional, representative, democratic government. . . . I was born an American and, by God, I intend to die an American. . . . Look at the foreign countries, where people are being killed, all because of centralized government. . . . It is time we stopped dilly-dallying with governmental changes. I wish to God that these people who talk about changes would get busy in our national defense industries and start trying to save America."

All this is so obviously ridiculous that it might well cause us to worry about the future of democratic self-government. No one seriously argues any longer that there is anything

essentially democratic in having a plethora of representation in a legislative body. The United States House of Representatives with its 435 members and the New Hampshire House with its 423 are prime examples of how an unwieldy body functions only if the leaders are able to whip the members into line and limit debate. Hundreds of cities can testify to the fact that they have obtained better and *more genuinely democratic* government since they dropped the old two-house legislative arrangement and elected councils small enough to produce a sense of responsibility.

There may be some small comfort in the knowledge that we aren't the only ones who have politicians who talk like that. Several years ago when

an effort was being made to "streamline" a Canadian city along lines similar to those adopted in some cities in the United States the plan was promptly branded as "un-British."

Is there really something so un-American about progressing and making constructive changes in government or anything else? Hardly. In this country we have experimented with and improved local government more in the last thirty years than in all previous history. As people contemplate such arguments as were strewn around hysterically by the Westchester County board they must inevitably come to the conclusion that the proposition is good and that there are no valid arguments against it.

New Jersey's Dead Hand of the Past

NEW JERSEY'S constitution has remained virtually unchanged in the last ninety-seven years. Now the agitation for the rewriting of this basic law serves to emphasize again that it is seldom possible for us to see ourselves as others see us.

The rest of the country never ceases to be amazed at the political goings-on in Boss Hague's Jersey City and in other sections. New Jersey can be so regularly depended upon for news stories of political chicanery that the tall tales about the famous Jersey "skeeter" have gone into total eclipse.

During last autumn's campaign both candidates for governor called attention to the inadequacy of the old constitution. Since the election, the leadership of both parties has

sponsored legislative bills to call a convention. Still, a group in the State Senate succeeds in clouding the issue with specious argument and in preventing anything constructive from happening.

These tactics may, however, be just the thing to arouse public opinion to the point which will help people see the sagacity of a statement made some months ago by a distinguished civic leader: "Nothing much worthwhile will be accomplished in New Jersey until it is generally realized that the issue lies between the entrenched politicians who think public affairs are designed for their individual enrichment and the people who foot the bill."

The statesmen of 1844 who de-
(Continued on Page 454)

In Recognition of the Native-Born New Voter

By R. J. COLBERT
University of Wisconsin

"I do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Wisconsin and the laws enacted pursuant thereto, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties and obligations of a citizen of the state of Wisconsin to the best of my ability, so help me God."

—*Wisconsin Citizenship Oath*

IN THE June issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW appeared an editorial entitled "I Am an American." It briefly reviewed the development of a plan whereby our young men and women who have become twenty-one years of age during the year are given a proper and worthy public induction into the electorate. As has been said, the idea is not new; indeed, it is a very old one. Nevertheless, its inclusion in our state school systems marks one of the most significant forward steps in education for democratic self-government.

There is a tendency for some to regard Citizenship Day (the third Sunday of May) as a sort of mass birthday party for new voters. Even this might do much to awaken a deeper appreciation of what it means to become a voter in a land where "We, the People" rule.

But Citizenship Day, as conceived by the originators of the "Manitowoc plan,"¹ is the climax to a thoughtfully developed program for adult education carried out by the new voters themselves in coöperation with

their elders—and with their county and local officials and public school authorities. It is this educational program that makes the plan potentially a most significant contribution to the advancement of good government. Through forums, round-table discussions, panel discussions, lectures, and conventions the new voters—and their neighbors—seek answers to two questions which voters need to know:

1. How far, and where, have the older voters brought government to date? What does the tax dollar contribute to our standard of living?
2. What problems and issues are we, as new voters, expected to help think through *now*? What do we need to know in order to meet these problems and issues squarely?

It is a mistake to assume that youth should automatically be familiar with these responsibilities of voting stockholder in our public corporations. It is also a mistake for the elders to assume that youth is not interested, willing, and able to take a lively part in public affairs, or that youth wants these matters done *for* it. Between the time when a youth is exposed to the more or less effective teaching of school civics and

¹See also "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1939, p. 499.

his twenty-first birthday, many things have happened in public affairs and changes have taken place in government. He should have a chance to prepare for the current responsibilities he is expected to share. This calls for a program of training—a responsibility that must be regarded as belonging to our public school system, in coöperation with county and local government and the civic organizations of the community.

The Manitowoc Plan

The Manitowoc County demonstration of 1938-1939 set the pattern for the Wisconsin legislation of 1939, creating a state plan for adult citizenship training and induction of new voters, and for the Congressional resolution in the spring of 1940, naming the third Sunday of May as **National Citizenship Day**. (Edward Arnold of Hollywood, California, president of "I am an American" Panegyric Foundation, Inc., flew to Washington to insist that Congress amend the resolution to call it "I Am an American Day." Congress tacked Arnold's amendment to the resolution, in spite of its awkward wording and egotism.)

It is obvious that such a program of adult citizenship training is based upon community organization with the county as the basic unit (in New England the basic unit would no doubt be the town).

Around the public school authorities is organized a county-wide citizenship committee composed of county and local officials, civic leaders, and a good representation of the youth of the county. Several counties this year attempted to carry out

the program without such a county-wide organization and the results were far from satisfactory. In several leading counties this county-wide committee held its final meeting after Citizenship Day to discuss how the program for next year might be improved, to arrange for an early start in the fall, and to elect officers and appoint new members. This committee is not only responsible for shaping and directing the program, but is a safeguard against political tampering.

The next major job of community organization is concerned with organizing the new voters of the county. This, too, calls for coöperative effort. In Wisconsin the census of the twenty-one-ers is taken annually at the time the school census is made. However, even this cannot be relied upon completely—many move, marry, or shift about, and now many are in military service. The securing of an accurate list is not accomplished until the new voters have attained a fair degree of organization by townships, villages, and city wards—or the voting units of the county. This year the most effective organization of the new voter units was accomplished by teams of last year's new voters working closely with their local township, village, and city officials.

The next step in the community organization is the combining of the several local units into discussion centers to carry out the program of forums, round-table discussions, and panels, and to bring into focus the information and resources for working out plans for meeting problems and issues confronting the commu-

nity, state, and nation. Such a program was carried out in more than half of Wisconsin's seventy-one counties this year. In more than a score of Wisconsin counties leadership institutes were held, where selected discussion leaders (many of them members of last year's new voter organizations) learned how to use various methods of conducting effective public discussion.

The final phase of the organization is the county convention of the new voters. It has been necessary to prepare a convention guide in order to insure that American democratic processes be followed. In this convention the new voters assemble behind the banners of their respective townships, villages, and city wards (precincts) to complete their county organization, elect a county cabinet of officers, and determine a program for aiding their community next year. This convention is held some time prior to Citizenship Day and thus provides an opportunity for the County Citizenship Committee to announce the program for Citizenship Day—the climax of the year's program. Many county conventions held this year would do credit to veteran leaders. They have demonstrated the possibility of a bona fide youth organization on this distinctly American plan. The programs of service they have adopted have already accomplished much to their credit. Some have conducted "Know Your Candidate" campaigns; others have made occupational studies of their county; others have set up provisions for protecting and looking after the interests of the men in military service; others are aiding local

councils for defense.

The program for Citizenship Day needs less explanation. In every state of the union there were communities that staged wonderful programs in honor of their native-born sons and daughters who now become partners with their elders in the conduct of public affairs. In only a few instances was the induction of naturalized citizens included—such programs being arranged at other times during the year.

Growth of the Movement

In Wisconsin there is already coming a demand from the various county organizations of new voters that a state convention be held. The following request from the officers of Winnebago County New Voters illustrates the character of the point of view of these county groups: "May we have your views on the idea of having a state-wide convention of the officers of the twenty-ones and school superintendents? We have thought of promoting such a convention and would appreciate any suggestions you might have."

On the national front there is already an astonishing public interest in the movement, and a serious need for guiding this interest into constructive educational channels.

The National Municipal League has recognized the potentialities of the program from the beginning, and has done much to help guide state and local communities in getting started right.

The National Education Association created a standing committee to assist schoolmen of the nation to get

(Continued on Page 431)

The Metropolitan Problem—1941

Our big cities continue to sprawl over ever-widening areas beyond their formal boundaries. New problems are many, efforts to solve them few.

By THOMAS H. REED
Municipal Consultant

IT IS now more than ten years since the National Municipal League, through its Committee on Metropolitan Government, presented to the public the first authentic and comprehensive account of the metropolitan problem in the United States and what had been done to solve it.¹ It is exactly nineteen years since the publication of Professor Maxey's *Political Integration of Metropolitan Communities* as a sup-

pletion. There are 63,958,703 people, or 47.8 per cent of the total population of the United States, now living in 140 metropolitan areas—8,205,058 more than ten years ago. This is almost equal to the total population increase of the country as a whole (8,894,229).

What has been taking place can be seen even more clearly from the figures for the ten largest metropolitan areas in Table I.

TABLE I

	Metropolitan Area Population			Nucleus City Population Increase or Decrease 1930-1940
	1930	1940	Increase	
New York	10,902,424	11,690,520	788,096	524,549
Chicago	4,364,755	4,499,126	134,371	20,370
Los Angeles	2,318,526	2,904,596	586,070	266,229
Philadelphia	2,847,148	2,898,644	51,496	— 19,627
Boston	2,307,897	2,350,514	42,617	— 10,372
Detroit	2,104,764	2,295,867	191,103	54,790
Pittsburgh	1,953,668	1,994,060	40,392	1,842
San Francisco	1,290,094	1,428,525	138,431	142
St. Louis	1,293,516	1,367,977	74,461	— 5,912
Cleveland	1,194,989	1,214,943	19,954	— 22,093

plement to the REVIEW. Measured from either of these dates, progress in solving the problems which arise from the maladjustment of the areas of local government to the needs of metropolitan communities has been insignificant.

At the same time, the retardation of general population growth has served to emphasize the scarcely abated outward trend of urban popu-

In six of these ten districts all growth was confined to the area outside the nucleus city, and in four of them it had to be rapid enough to make up for a positive decline within the nucleus city. The four nucleus cities which showed substantial growth are so large in area that suburban development is still going on within the city limits.

The problems, administrative and financial, of both nucleus cities and their suburban satellites have been

¹The Government of Metropolitan Areas, National Municipal League, 1930.

intensified in the last decade. The metropolitan situation, in spite of much talk by political scientists and city planners, has grown steadily worse since they first became conscious of it a generation ago. This is not flattering to American democracy, but it would be a great mistake not to look the hard facts in the face now.

The Problem Grows

There are, it is true, forces at work gradually clearing the way for a new order in metropolitan government. One of the most obvious is increasing "necessity," the grim cause of most human achievement. There is nothing static about metropolitanism. Loss of population and taxable values in the older residential areas of the nucleus cities has brought on a crisis in their finances. A similar crisis has arisen in the outlying "bedroom" municipalities by the invasion of hundreds or thousands of families not much above the level of self-support who must be provided with schools and other municipal services at a cost far exceeding the taxes collectible upon the houses they occupy.

A working-class family which lives, works, trades, and seeks its amusements all in one municipality contributes to local government not only through property taxes on its home but through the values which its spending gives to downtown business property. Every such self-supporting family pays for the local government services it gets. But divide its contributions between two municipalities, in one of which it lives and in the other of which it trades and amuses itself, and it pays its way in

neither. The overhead of two governments is too much for the low income family, which means most families, but it is impossible as a rule to reduce the expenditures of their old home town to correspond with the increase in those of their new home town.

This is not a wholly new situation though in current discussions it is sometimes disguised under a new name, "urban decentralization." It is but one phase of the fact, clearly brought out years ago, that the areas of local government fail to correspond with economic and social realities. The effects of this discrepancy caused by the rapid out-thrust of population, however, are clearer than they used to be. They have caught the attention of some politicians who ten years ago were all for the status quo. When the financial pressure gets heavy enough they may be willing to acquiesce in some form of consolidation. It is significant that the only voluntary consolidations of local governments which have taken place in the last ten years, including the three instances of county consolidation, have occurred when a bankrupt small unit found surcease of sorrow in the bosom of one able and willing to assume its obligations.

The phenomena of "urban decentralization," moreover, have aroused the passionate interest of the powerful real estate owners whose heavy investments lie in the centers of nucleus cities. They looked on calmly enough ten years ago at the efforts of municipal reformers and city planners to do something about metropolitanism. They are calm no longer. They are eagerly anxious to stop the

exodus to the suburbs, and, barring that, to extend city boundaries and taxing power to include the newly created values in the outskirts.

In other words, the municipal reformers and city planners, who were interested chiefly in the better administration of certain local government activities suffering from the *morcellement* of areas and jurisdictions, have acquired new allies whose interest is largely in the purely fiscal side of the problem. Whether the two teams will pull together or not remains to be seen. Some of the values most cherished by the reformers mean relatively little to those whose thought runs along purely economic lines. What may appear a solution to one group may seem only another problem to the other.

The remedies which are today proposed for the maladjustments of metropolitanism are the same as ever: city-county consolidation, outright annexation to the nucleus city, metropolitan consolidation on the borough plan, special metropolitan districts, and functional consolidation.

City-County Consolidation

City-county consolidation is still practically where it was in 1922. In Virginia all cities of over 10,000 population continue to be counties by themselves. Elsewhere there are still only Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Denver. One may add, for good measure, Boston, almost but not quite consolidated with Suffolk County under circumstances which have produced a century of minor

headaches. New York City, with its five by no means wholly consolidated counties, occupies an anomalous position which defies classification.

Denver, the last recruit, was finally fairly united with a portion of Arapahoe County after a struggle which lasted from 1902 to 1916. With this exception there has been no addition to the list for two generations. For some years following the Denver achievement there was an active but unsuccessful movement for consolidation. City-county consolidation plans were defeated by local referendum in Alameda County (Oakland), California, in 1922; Silver Bow County (Butte), Montana, in 1924; Multnomah County (Portland), Oregon, in 1927; Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), Pennsylvania, in 1929. Plans to combine the city of St. Louis (already a county) with the county of St. Louis in a still greater city and county were defeated in 1926 and 1930. Since 1930 there has been no city-county consolidation proposal that has got as far as the ballot box.

There has been in the past decade some progress in the adoption of enabling legislation. Constitutional amendments in Ohio and Texas in 1933 and in New York in 1935 seemed to favor consolidation. It is to be doubted, however, if any of these amendments offer a practical means of securing anything more than modest functional consolidation. To date they have produced nothing except a modicum of functional consolidation in a few New York counties.

The term city-county consolida-

tion is commonly used somewhat indiscriminately to describe a variety of different devices. Consolidation may be simple—a merger into a single unit of government; or compound—a merger into a new unit in which member municipalities retain their identity like the round pebbles in the mass of a Roxbury pudding-stone. Consolidation is very properly used to describe the union of a city with the county in which it is situated, as happened in the case of Philadelphia (1854) and New Orleans (1874). It is also used, even more frequently, to describe the withdrawal of a city, with or without the addition of some territory, from the surrounding county to become a city-county by itself. This is what happened in Baltimore (1851), San Francisco (1856), St. Louis (1876), and Denver (1902-1916). It is what is provided for cities of over 10,000 in the Virginia constitution and what was practiced for nearly one hundred years in England in the erection of county-boroughs. It is in the interest of clearness to refer to this practice as city-county separation.

No example of a compound consolidation has yet been put into effect in the United States unless the anomalous arrangement in New York can be called so. The discussion of its prospects will best be considered under the head of the borough plan of metropolitan integration, which is not necessarily confined by county lines.

Simple consolidations have varied considerably in the completeness and smooth operation of the consolidation affected. There is a certain unavoid-

able difficulty in bringing under the ordinary city authorities the instrumentalities of the administration of justice, in which the interest of the state as a whole must remain dominant. The repeated complaints of Philadelphians concerning the imperfections of consolidation arise fundamentally from the fact that the perfectly legitimate distinction between municipal and state functions has been abused by political powers bent on preserving as large an area of local administration as possible free from the restraints of budgeting, the merit system, and financial supervision. The best possible consolidation act could limit but hardly wholly remove the opportunities for such abuse. Similar motives may be found back of the unsatisfactory city-county relations in Boston and New York.

Advantages

Consolidation can and should be made complete except for those aspects of judicial administration in which the state is bound to preserve uniformity. This requirement should be satisfied if the judges and the office of the prosecuting attorney are put directly under the state. There is no reason why clerical and recording functions cannot be performed conformably to state laws by locally responsible officials.

Generally speaking, a merger of city and non-judicial county activities under a single set of municipal authorities has proved advantageous to the taxpayers of the consolidated unit. It is impossible to prove this statistically because other conditions which affect local government costs vary so much from city to city. The

TABLE II
*Adjusted Tax Rates in Consolidated Cities and Counties Compared with
 Average Adjusted Tax Rates in Cities of Same Population Group²*

<i>City and County</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Adjusted Tax Rate in \$ per \$1,000</i>	<i>Average Adjusted Rate for Population Group</i>
GROUP I	500,000+		\$28.87
Philadelphia		\$28.75	
Baltimore		30.34	
St. Louis		23.29	
San Francisco		19.69	
GROUP II	300,000-500,000		29.30
New Orleans		28.38	
Denver		33.55	
GROUP III	100,000-300,000		29.08
Richmond		22.00	
Norfolk		20.00	
GROUP IV	50,000-100,000		27.25
Roanoke		12.50	
Portsmouth		17.50	
GROUP V	30,000-50,000		26.96
Lynchburg		16.45	

²Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities—1940, by Rosina Mohaupt, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1940, pp. 792-810.

accompanying Table II, based on Miss Mohaupt's tax rate figures for 1940, indicates that consolidated city-counties as a whole, on the unanalyzed face of the returns, compare favorably with other cities from the point of view of tax burdens.

It should be added, moreover, that it has been the practically uniform testimony of those closely identified with local government in places which have affected consolidation or separation that it has been financially advantageous.

It must be apparent, however, that city-county separation does not offer any long-time solution to the metropolitan problem unless a wide margin for growth is included in the new city and county. Denver took such a large slice of Arapahoe County that after a quarter of a century it still seems to have no metropolitan fringe to contend with. San Francisco, Baltimore, and St. Louis, however, have

long since outgrown their original city-county boundaries, and the fact that they constitute separate counties has served as a serious obstacle to further municipal expansion. San Francisco, for example, is not an inch larger in area than it was in 1856, although a varied array of suburbs has grown up on the peninsula and across the bay which constitutes one of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States. St. Louis has been struggling vainly for nearly twenty years to remove the strait-jacket she put on her growth in 1876.

Only Virginia city-counties, of all those in the United States, have continued to grow territorially, due to the provision in the Virginia law for annexation by judicial process.³ Even

³The addition to Richmond of nearly ten square miles and 15,000 people from Henrico County, finally sanctioned by the highest court of that state on June 9, 1941, is the first considerable annexation to an important city in a decade and a half.

where the whole county was taken, as in Philadelphia, the metropolitan problem was only temporarily solved and annexation of further territory has been prevented. The utmost perfection which could be given to "consolidation" in that city would leave wholly untouched the problem of a metropolitan area which has invaded three states and several counties.

City-county separation is always bitterly resisted by the rural portions of the county which is asked to suffer the amputation, and with good reason. The impoverished rump of a county whose expenses are upped by its proximity to a large city does not face a wholly pleasant prospect. This may be bettered by state aid for this and that, or simply by growth, but in extreme cases there might be nothing for it but union with another county. Such changes disrupt the game of politics whose checkerboard has counties for squares. The balance of good and evil often would justify separation, but no county has actually suffered separation since the long bout in which Arapahoe lost to Denver.

On the other hand, consolidating a city with a county of large area and extensive rural interests creates problems which give pause to both insiders and outsiders. The insiders fear that they will be obliged to pay for city services for the rural areas. The outsiders fear that their property will be assessed at urban levels and be taxed at urban rates. That is why adding Campbell and Milton to Fulton County froze the Atlanta metropolitan situation. That is why Dallas hesitates to merge with its county.

There may be a way around this difficulty but none has yet been suggested which any city and county have been willing to adopt. Metropolitan integration by city-county consolidation or separation is a horse which won its last race before "Man of War" was foaled.

The growth of cities by annexation, even where there is no county line to cross, has practically ceased. This is in part a curious by-product of the long campaign waged by reformers for home rule. So good a job in developing a sense of municipal independence has been done that every "Tiny-Lots" or "Shady-Lawn" has become an embattled center of resistance to the political expansion of its parent city. More important, however, has been the attitude of local political leaders who, intensely anxious to preserve the status quo, have not been slow to utilize for their own purposes the local patriotism of their constituents. Only dire disaster to finances of the municipality ever induces its dominant political clique to relinquish voluntarily its grip on the municipal government. It is only under such circumstances that annexation of incorporated places can be effected today.

The Borough Plan

The difficulty of securing outright annexation led many students of metropolitanism to recommend what has sometimes been called, with doubtful propriety, the "federal" or "federated" and, sometimes more properly, the "borough" type of organization for metropolitan areas. Under this plan a metropolitan government would be given jurisdiction

over certain matters of general concern while the pre-existing units would retain their autonomy in all other matters. This may be tantamount to what we have called "compound" city-county consolidation as in the Pittsburgh metropolitan plan of 1929; a combination of counties as in the St. Louis proposals of 1930; or union of parts of several suburban counties as in the Boston proposals of the same period.

This method of solving the metropolitan problem offers some obvious advantages and disadvantages. It would keep alive the sacred fires of local self-government, prevent the abuses and dangers of over-centralization, give each section of the metropolis the kind and quantity of services it wishes, and provide tax differentials for the nucleus city and its richer and poorer satellites. These are very significant advantages, especially if it is desired to include in the metropolis large areas of varying wealth and social character.

On the other hand, the borough plan, unless carefully drawn, might actually add to the complexity of areas and jurisdictions, especially if all pre-existing units were preserved in the new scheme. A dual system of local government is, other things being equal, more cumbersome and costly than a unified one. It can be reasonably counted on to bring about a more efficient performance of the functions transferred to the metropolitan government. This, however, in practice might result in greater rather than less expense, while the overload of overhead arising from too many governments might not be diminished.

The most common reason for proposing the borough plan has been that it seemed to by-pass the bitter-end hostility which confronted pure and simple annexation or consolidation. Just how much opposition the borough plan has avoided in any particular case, it is difficult to say. It has never been enough to affect the result, for no such plan has, as yet, been adopted. The value of concessions repeatedly offered and as often rejected certainly is subject to suspicion. A borough plan is not worth proposing unless it can be sustained on other grounds than supposed political practicality. These grounds do exist in many large metropolitan areas. There have been instances, however, in which, in their zeal to placate opposition, the advocates of metropolitan integration have succeeded in chilling the enthusiasm of their natural adherents without making any appreciable inroads in the ranks of the enemy. In the St. Louis attempt of 1930 concession after concession was made to the particularist sentiments of St. Louis Countians, only to find the very men who had extorted these compromises in opposition to the whole scheme in the end.

It is essential that solutions of the metropolitan problem should be genuine. If they are genuine there can be no objection to their also being politically realistic. But it is not political realism to sacrifice the substance of a reform in order to secure the enactment of its shadow. Due partly to such alleged political sagacity resulting in plans which no ordinary citizen could understand and partly to the uniformity with which all borough plans, good or bad,

have been defeated, there is apparently less interest in it today than in 1930.

Special Districts

Attempts to solve particular metropolitan problems by the creation of special metropolitan districts continue to be made from time to time. A large crop of power and other utility districts embracing several municipalities have sprung up under the influence of recent federal policies. Most of them are in rural areas but some include situations which may be described as metropolitan. Chief among these is the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California. It was organized under an act passed in 1927, received its first grants from the R.F.C. at the beginning of the decade, and has since developed spectacularly. Through it thirteen southern California cities, including Los Angeles, have each bought a "piece" of the prodigious project to bring water nearly three hundred miles from Uncle Sam's Boulder Dam. As late as 1937 New York and New Jersey formalized a previous informal coöperation in the management of the so-called Palisades Interstate Park when they established by interstate compact a single body corporate and politic under the title of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission.

As has often been pointed out, while each such special district provides for some particular metropolitan need, the district plan cannot be expected to solve the metropolitan problem as a whole. If a patient were suffering from cataracts, heart disease, diabetes, and an infected toe,

amputating the toe might enable him to walk around for a while but it could not be considered a really important step toward restoring him to health. Just so with *ad hoc* districts and the metropolitan problem. They continue to be used because they run parallel with, rather than counter to, the thinking of local politicians. The erection of such a district displaces no one, destroys no relationship, cuts out no jobs. It adds one more organization which politicians can control without disturbing their relations with any existing organization.

Functional Consolidation

When all is said and done, the chief progress which has been made toward the solution of the metropolitan problem in recent years has been along the lines of functional consolidation. By this we mean the performance by one unit of local government of a function or functions hitherto performed by two or more units, without any change in the general structural relations of such units. It may be brought to pass in two ways: (1) by state action in reallocating the functions of local government, either mandatorily or optionally, and (2) by some form of contractual arrangement between local units themselves. Closely associated with the movement for functional consolidation is the assumption of previously local functions by the state which is illustrated in the highway policies of Virginia and North Carolina.

Numerous examples of mandatory reallocation of local functions are to be found in the statutes passed by

the states to qualify for federal grants under the Social Security Act. In twenty-nine of the thirty-seven states which entrust the administration of old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children to a local unit, that unit is exclusively the county. In most instances the administration of general relief has gone along with the so-called "categories." Optional reallocation has taken place to some extent in certain New York counties through the operation of the county home rule provisions of the state constitution, as in the centralization of assessing in Nassau County. It has resulted in the transfer, stimulated by state grants, of the highway functions of Michigan townships to counties. A similar stratagem has resulted in the adoption of a county health unit in several New York counties.

Examples of functional consolidation by contract are increasingly numerous. In Los Angeles County they have been widely employed. The city of Los Angeles between 1926 and 1929 made forty-one contracts with other governmental agencies in the county for their use of the city sewer system. Pasadena has contracts with three other cities for use of its disposal plant. Pomona has two similar contracts, and Long Beach four.⁴ Nine county sanitation districts operate an integrated trunk sewer system on a coöperative basis. While functional consolidation has

made its most rapid progress in the thickly populated and rapidly growing southern California metropolis, instances could be multiplied from every part of the country. And new ones continue to crop up every few weeks.

No single act of functional consolidation solves the metropolitan problem. In fact, it is inconceivable that it ever could be completely solved by that route. It does, however, provide for handling tough situations in a practical manner without, at any rate, increasing the existing complexity of local government areas as the creation of new special districts or metropolitan government on the borough plan may do. It is the road of easiest grade into the intricate and complicated field of metropolitanism. To vary the metaphor, it bears somewhat the same relation to the solution of the metropolitan problem as the patient untying of knot after knot has to untangling a skein of yarn. To the extent that a functional consolidation works, there is one less complexity to deal with.

Politicians do not like functional consolidation. It means less jobs as a rule, and in any event the control of what jobs there are is usually shifted. They cannot, however, resist it as they can a direct attack on the independence of a local community. They cannot, for example, appeal to local patriotism to save the office of sewer commissioner. They may realize that the gradual transfer of powers is cutting the ground from under their feet, but that is hard to

(Continued on Page 460)

⁴Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California at Los Angeles, *Intergovernmental Coöperation in the Los Angeles Area* (Studies in Local Government, No. 4), December 1940.

Winning the Billboard War

Citizen groups work for "highway zoning" legislation; restrictions to billboards already on statute books in 22 states.

By ALBERT S. BARD

Counsel to National Roadside Council

GOOD news for those who love the American countryside—the war against the billboards is being won. Years of hard fighting are still ahead. But the forces striving to preserve our highways from defacement are on the offensive; the interests striving to use the highways for selfish profit are on the defensive.

The perspective of time shows the extent of the gains. In six years twenty-two states have passed laws restricting billboards. This year "highway zoning" bills were introduced in a number of state legislatures. That is progress, undreamed of when the National Roadside Council under Elizabeth B. Lawton started the fight eighteen years ago.

The most dramatic sector recently has been Pennsylvania. It needed to be; a motorist on the Lancaster Pike saw more immense billboards than rolling hills, and to visit Gettysburg he worked through acres of advertising. But some years ago the women started a spirited campaign. Mrs. Cyril Fox, chairman of the Pennsylvania Roadside Council, gave her full time to it, and the Garden Club of America, making an exception to its principle of not entering state affairs, threw its strength into the battle. Working with them is an impressive array of public-spirited organizations.

Finally, because of the sheer, un-

relenting pressure, things moved. The State Department of Commerce took a hand to help eliminate unsightly advertising from certain mountain areas. The billboard industry, the oil companies, and the hotels saw the handwriting on the wall and hastily joined in a "coöperative roadside improvement program."

"If this voluntary cleanup movement proves effective in stemming the legislative tide in Pennsylvania, it may be possible to accomplish similar results in other states by the same methods," Morris B. Mitchell, general counsel of the American Highway Sign Association, reported to his clients. Which really means that the industry is trying, by skillful retreat, to head off the highway zoning legislation now pending.

The billboard interests feel the pressure on too many fronts to defend them all successfully. In Maryland they did defeat a strip-zoning bill, but four other bills were passed to strengthen existing billboard law. In California ten counties have protected their newer scenic highways by zoning roadside frontages. The billboard interests call California and New Jersey their "worst" situations; New Jersey because of its heavy tax on roadside signs.

The secret of success for any community enlisted in this fight is in the highway zoning idea. The one

thing the billboard men dread is legislation regulating the kind of structures permissible on a strip along both sides of the highway. Unless we do this strip zoning, we have the roadside slum—tawdry ribbons of cheap, garish gas and refreshment stands and a jungle of signs.

Citizen Groups Active

Any group with civic interests can well throw its weight in favor of this zoning idea. There is plenty of ammunition. The American Automobile Association has sent its model highway zoning bill into every state. Drafted by Alfred Bettman of Cincinnati and revised by Hugh R. Pomeroy of the Virginia State Planning Board, this bill is being adapted to local conditions and introduced in state legislatures.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, in its 1940 convention, unanimously resolved that billboards "tend to destroy public enjoyment of the vast investment in rural highways, and therefore should be subject to regulation through municipal, county, and statewide zoning enactments."

There are other powerful allies: the American Society of Planning Officials, the Federal Public Roads Administration, the American Association of State Highway Officials, the Highway Research Board, the American Planning and Civic Association, various state garden clubs, and the newspapers, which long were reluctant to appear in the light of selfishly trying to hurt a rival advertising medium but now are vigorous campaigners for highway beauty and

safety. The billboard men have been known to refer scornfully to the garden clubs as "scenic sisters," "feminine aesthetic enthusiasts"; but nowadays, thoughtfully contemplating these new reinforcements, they start "voluntary cleanup campaigns."

This is a good fight, in the public interest. But it is no fight for those who are tender-skinned. The billboard folk, for example, tie you right up with Hitler. They write that highway zoning is "the same kind of strait-jacket in which individuals are now being put under the dictatorships of Europe," and "a big step toward establishing a dictatorship in this country." They say, "If these city groups are successful, it will not be long before they will not only prohibit unpainted barns, pig-pens, and manure piles, but will specify the color which farm buildings must be painted to meet their aesthetic ideas."

These absurd statements are worth recording because they indicate desperation within the billboard ranks. This is important to the hard-fighting civic organizations. In a confidential report counsel for the sign association confessed: "In many legislatures we have encountered the feeling among reasonable legislators that . . . something should be done to improve conditions along many highways."

Another indication of conscious weakness is the industry's comic pretense of combining "beauty" with "utility." The Outdoor Advertising Association of America issued a pamphlet illustrating dewdabs to be arranged around big signs—settings of shrubbery, lattices, gravelled

walks, and benches, centering upon the monstrous billboard, the whole layout called a "park." One notes with a smile that the benches in these microscopic "parks" have their backs to their own billboards!

Allies for Billboards

So there is light ahead, the light of victory. But the civic groups must not be overconfident yet. One ominous portent is the fact that two real allies have lined up with the billboard industry, the Petroleum Industries Committee and the United States Brewers Association. These, the sign men cheerfully note, "have valuable legislative contacts." It would be in the public interest to know more about this, and about the extent to which these organizations use their "valuable legislative contacts" in favor of billboard profits. They are not organizations which can afford to combat public opinion.

It is well to remind local civic groups that the answer to that sort of thing is publicity and more publicity. It is fatal to permit regulatory bills to go into committee and stay there. That is where bills are quietly murdered. "A good local attorney," remarks the billboard industry's report, "who knows his way around the legislature can do much to protect our interests." He can, indeed; but not so much if we keep him in the light of publicity.

One of the new tactics of the billboard industry has been to set up the "Highway Property Owners Association," a wholly artificial organization without dues, without privileges, without obligations. But it

sounds impressive in the ear of a legislator: "If you vote for this bill, you will offend thousands of our members."

One of the industry's oldest games is to make a present of unrented space to a patriotic or public cause and then proclaim its patriotism or public spirit as justification for its general abuse of the landscape and highways. Organizations that accept such gifts often do so ignorantly, not realizing that they are being made cats-paws for the billboards. Similar favors are frequently offered to political candidates, but the latter are more wary than formerly of accepting such publicity and later finding themselves in a dilemma with respect to legislation or public comment affecting the business.

If the billboard representatives raise their last-ditch cry, "You are throwing men out of work," you will know you have them licked. For its own general counsel reminded the American Highway Sign Association that "advertisers can if necessary use some other form of advertising . . . sign manufacturers have products other than highway signs . . . and would probably increase to some extent the other branches of their business."

So out of the window goes the long pretense that the faintest regulation would destroy a vast industry and throw thousands out of work. What defense now remains for those who use our public highways for private profit?

The formula of victory, then, is simple as sunlight. See that a model highway strip-zoning bill is intro-

(Continued on Page 460)

Civil Service and Citizen Opinion

Residents of Evanston, Illinois, make poor showing in their knowledge of merit system. Little known of work of local commission.

By **ROBERT S. AVERY**
Northwestern University

THE extent to which civil service is adopted in municipalities depends in large measure upon the will of the people. Therefore one of the first tasks of the proponents of the merit system is to educate the public as to the relative advantages of a city government administered according to set standards of efficiency as opposed to administration based upon the spoils system.

It would be presumptuous to assume that the general public is already well informed as to the relative merits of these two bases of administration. Even where the merit system is in use the extent of public information about its administration is far from clearly defined.

In April 1940 a survey was begun by the writer, the objectives of which may be stated as follows:

1. To determine whether the people of Evanston were in favor of civil service for city employees, and to ascertain whether they were well enough informed about civil service to be able to express intelligent opinions concerning it;

2. To determine whether or not the public believed that city government was likely to be more honest and more efficient if its employees were placed under civil service;

3. To determine the extent to which the public was informed about the actual work of the Evanston Civil

Service Commission, and whether reaction to its work was favorable or unfavorable.

The sampling technique used to arrive at a representative cross-section of the city is similar to that employed by Dr. George Gallup in his public opinion polls. The sample was set up proportionally according to six factors: age, sex, political affiliation, economic status, race, and population by voting precincts. It has been shown time and again that a small sample of this type, which contains these factors in the proportion that they are found in the population as a whole, is much more likely to furnish accurate results than a large sample where the subjects are chosen at random.

Dr. Lyndon O. Brown, of Northwestern University School of Commerce, an authority in the field of market research, suggested that, for the purposes of this study, a cross-section consisting of one hundred interviews made upon this basis should be sufficient to insure accuracy. Actually two hundred interviews were made.

The Evanston public schools census for 1939 was relied upon to furnish a breakdown according to race and sex. The only reliable source of information concerning population by age groups which was available at

the time this survey was begun was the 1930 United States Census.

The Evanston file of registered voters was used to furnish a breakdown according to population by precinct. In April 1940 it showed a registration of 34,954 voters. The school census, however, indicated a total of 48,616 people of voting age. This left a difference of 13,662 persons not taken into account in arriving at the number to be interviewed in each precinct. It is doubtful whether this group of non-voters is so unevenly spread throughout the city as to affect the ratios set up for each precinct enough to destroy their proportionate accuracy.

Information concerning the number of Republicans and Democrats to be polled was sought from three sources: results of the 1936 election for president of the United States and governor of the state of Illinois, the 1938 election for United States Senator, and the estimate of the existing ratio between Democrats and Republicans as given by the local chairmen of the two parties.

The economic status of the individual, perhaps the most important factor to be considered in choosing a representative cross-section, is extremely difficult to measure. In order to cope with this problem a special color map of the city was designed for use in this survey showing the average rental value of homes throughout the city according to specified streets and areas.¹

¹In apartment areas this information was obtained by asking each person interviewed to state the approximate rental value of the apartments in his building. In numerous instances these

Several questionnaires were drawn up and discussed before a graduate seminar in public administration before one was finally decided upon for use in this survey. Even then, the one selected was given a pre-sampling test in order to eliminate flaws in phraseology etc. that might make interpretation difficult. The personal interview technique was employed in preference to a questionnaire sent out by mail. As a further precaution that men and women in all walks of life would be represented in the sample,² each of the two hundred interviews was made in the evening. All interviews were made by the writer, who asked each question orally rather than requesting that the form be filled out by the person being interviewed. Thus a degree of uniformity was maintained throughout the survey which otherwise would not have been present.

Cross-Section of City

In dealing with every factor going to make up a cross-section of the Evanston public, the sample which was used in making this survey corresponded almost precisely with the mathematically - calculated sample which was set up as being a true cross-section of the city. In the light of this fact the writer does not feel that he is assuming too much in believing that the results were indicative of the general trend of opinion throughout the city at the time the survey was conducted.

people voluntarily offered to state the exact amount of rent they were paying.

²Men and women employed by the city were purposely excluded from the survey.

The survey was completed late in June 1940. The first thing of importance indicated was that only a small percentage of the population was without opinion as to the meaning of the term "civil service." This is shown from the answers given to the first question, "Do you think that civil service for city employees is a good thing?" Only 12 per cent expressed no opinion. Eighty-two per cent registered in favor of civil service, and only 6 per cent expressed opposition to its philosophy. It was noted that 16 per cent of the women were without opinions as contrasted to 7 per cent of the men.

The occupational differential shows that civil service was favored 100 per cent by the professional and executive groups polled in the survey. Unskilled laborers on the other hand were only 50 per cent in favor with 40 per cent expressing "no opinion."³

The second question asked was: "Do you think that all employees of the city of Evanston should be under civil service?" Thirty-nine per cent of the group polled expressed affirmative answers; 45 per cent were definitely opposed to this idea; 16 per cent were without an opinion.

Evidently a large percentage of those in favor of civil service pre-

ferred to limit it to certain classes of city employees. The factor of political affiliation seemed to have little effect upon the answers to either the first or second questions. Women continued to register a greater percentage of "no opinion" answers than men. The nationality differential was interesting in that the foreign born and the native born of foreign parentage were more inclined to favor a complete "cover-all" civil service than the native born of native parentage. This seems to be in keeping with the high degree of prestige given to civil service and governmental positions in many foreign countries.

The third question listed all classes of employees engaged by the city and permitted the persons polled to state which they thought should not be classified under civil service.

Reversal of Opinion

The survey results disclosed that 62 per cent of the same 39 per cent who had stated that all employees of the city should be placed under civil service reversed themselves when asked the third question and checked one or more classes of employees which should be, in their opinion, divorced from civil service. However, it should be said in all fairness to this group that many of them checked only the positions of alderman and mayor who are, in reality, not employees at all, but officers. To include them in a list of strictly city employees might seem a bit unfair to those who had answered the second question in the affirmative. On the other hand there was a justifiable purpose in including them in

³It must be kept in mind that only the general results to each question can be considered as representatively accurate. Each of the various differentials of age, sex, economic status, race, and nationality, etc., when examined individually cannot be considered as truly measuring the effect of the differential due to the size and construction of the sample. This does not, however, keep the opinions expressed within these differentials from being of some significance.

the list in order to determine what percentage of the people would fail to make the distinction between an employee and an elective official and would go so far as to include the latter under civil service.

The results of the third question, then, may be stated thus: 70 per cent of those polled were not in favor of extending civil service to include all classes of employees listed; 15 per cent expressed themselves in favor of a complete "cover-all" civil service for all city employees (this is 18 per cent less than answered affirmatively to the second question); 15 per cent were without opinions.

Further analysis of these results showed that of the 70 per cent who had expressed themselves as opposed to extending civil service to all classes of city employees, more than half this group, 63 per cent to be exact, were opposed to classifying common laborers under civil service. This opposition in nearly all cases was based upon a misunderstanding, namely, that common laborers would be required to take a written examination similar in nature to the type of examination given for higher positions, or in other words, a test of academic knowledge.

This result is significant in light of the fact that in November 1939 the Evanston Civil Service Commission extended civil service downward to include common laborers. The examination, far from being of a written nature designed to test the candidate's mental ability, consisted primarily of a sound physical examination designed to test his physical

fitness for the type of manual labor he would be required to do.

It must be concluded, then, that the group which expressed dissatisfaction either was not informed as to the nature of the examination or was still ignorant of the fact that common laborers had been put under civil service.

The positions of alderman and mayor were the next highest upon the list to be excluded from civil service. This is as it should be inasmuch as these are elective officials and would not in any circumstances be given civil service tenure. But what is more significant is that 15 per cent of those polled were in favor of putting the aldermen and mayor under civil service. That is ridiculous indeed. It is even more so in light of the fact that 14 per cent of the college graduates polled were in favor of such action.

Honesty or Corruption

Does civil service insure honesty in city government or does corrupt politics working behind the scene overshadow all efforts toward honest administration? Laying aside all speculation as to the gullibility of the human race and getting down to actual survey results, it was found that 68 per cent of the people believed that civil service made for increased honesty in city government. Only 19 per cent believed that there was no connection between civil service and honesty in city government and that corruption in city administration can and will take place regardless of the system upon which the city administration is based.

Finally 13 per cent were frank to admit that they hesitated to say definitely one way or the other and would prefer to go on record as expressing no definite opinion on the matter. The native white of foreign or mixed parentage and the foreign born showed a greater tendency to believe in a more honest administration under civil service than the native white of native parentage. This is in keeping with their attitude toward the desirability for civil service as expressed in answer to the first question.

If examination ratings are any indication of one's efficiency, it must be assumed that employees who have passed civil service examinations, and have been employed in the order of their rating on the eligible register, offer a more efficient personnel than employees selected through political pull or at random. Effort is always made to determine the honesty of an applicant for a civil service position before he is employed, but such a measure of honesty is not nearly as accurate comparatively as the measure of the applicant's fitness in other respects as determined by an examination designed especially to test such fitness.

It was assumed therefore that many more people would connect civil service with efficiency on the job than with honesty. The results of the survey justified that assumption for they show that 80 per cent believed that city government was likely to be more efficient if its employees were under civil service, an increase of 12 per cent over the number answering affirmatively to the

preceding question concerning honesty. Ten per cent went on record as seeing no relationship between civil service and efficiency in city government, while the remaining 10 per cent preferred to refrain from expressing opinions. More than half the group who had signified that they could see no relationship between honesty in government and civil service changed over to an affirmative answer regarding the question of efficiency. Both in this and in the preceding question women were much more doubtful than men that such a relationship existed. Here, as in previous questions, more women than men refrained from expressing opinions.

Commission's Work Unknown

Whereas a majority seemed willing to express opinions on general questions pertaining to civil service, only a few had any notion of the work their own Civil Service Commission was trying to accomplish. In answer to the question: "In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the work that is being done by the Evanston Civil Service Commission?", 63 per cent of those interviewed were unable to express opinions because of their ignorance of the commission's work. Twenty-eight per cent expressed satisfaction, leaving only 9 per cent to go on record as dissatisfied. The smallness of this latter group is significant in light of the fact that such a large number had previously shown opposition to including common laborers under civil service. This serves to indicate that even today a large portion of the Evanston public does not know that common

laborers have been so classified. It would seem advisable, therefore, for the Evanston Civil Service Commission to bring itself closer to the public eye through greater publicity as to the things it is trying to accomplish in its effort to improve the quality of the city government. Only in this way can it expect to gain the public coöperation that is so often a necessary factor in paving the way for its own progress.

What general conclusion can be drawn from this survey in addition to the specific results already discussed? It can be said, first of all, that civil service is understood primarily as a theoretical concept relating to efficiency in government as contrasted to administration based upon the spoils of patronage. But beyond that point the public knows little. The results of this survey show that opinion beyond that point was characterized by an element of inconsistency and misunderstanding which gradually developed as the questions asked became more specific in nature. When pinned down to facts concerning the effect and operation of civil service in their own city government the public readily acknowledged its lack of information necessary to form an opinion.

The importance of healthy public opinion in a democracy, opinion fostered by a keen awareness of the actions taken by government and an understanding of the reasons supporting such action, is a factor which cannot be overstressed. Its importance lies in the fact that in the last analysis it is the people who rule. No government has ever been per-

manently successful which has been persistent in defying the will of the people. Therefore any government, whether national, state, or local, if it is to be successful in carrying out its policies should see to it that the public is well informed. Lack of adequate governmental publicity can lead only to one thing—suspicion—and a suspicious public spells doom to any hope of permanent success regardless of the policy that is being administered.

Curiously enough, the principles of civil service based upon a merit system, in spite of their commendable characteristics, have not been brought sufficiently before the public eye. It is most discouraging to discover that in a city such as Evanston, where civil service does exist, the general public knows so little about the work of its own commission.

Thus it is the task of the proponents of civil service to continue to educate the public both in the theory and practice of administration based upon its principles. Thus far such education has been too meager. There must be far greater emphasis placed upon this factor in the future until the public is made alert and interested in the problem. Then, and only then, can the influence of the public be made the wholesome and vitalizing force it should be. Unless this end is accomplished there cannot be expected the public coöperation and support which is so necessary, not only for furnishing a basis of harmony in municipal administration, but also for the continued growth of civil service in municipalities throughout the country.

The Hatch Act—An Interpretation

*United States Civil Service Commission
compiles statements on principles to be
followed in application of legislation.*

By JOSEPH R. STARR
University of Minnesota

DURING the presidential campaign of 1940 there was much doubt and questioning among various groups of state and local employees as to whether or not they were subject to the prohibition against political activity contained in the Hatch Act. "Authorities" could be found to hold this or that group included or not included; memoranda flew from desk to desk; arguments arose wherever a few were gathered together. The situation has been clarified somewhat by the recent release of a compilation of extracts from letters in which the United States Civil Service Commission gives its interpretation of the provisions of the act.¹

The original Hatch Act was passed in the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress and received executive approval on August 2, 1939.² It amended the existing corrupt practices legislation by enacting prohibitions against the intimidation and coercion of voters and against the promise of employment in return for political support, and it contained a series of clauses designed to protect persons on relief and work relief

projects from improper political influences. Criminal penalties were provided for violators of these sections, as well as for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by persons employed in administrative posts by the federal government.

The act also prohibited all federal employees from having membership in any political party or other organization which advocates the overthrow of the constitutional form of government, and all federal employees in the executive branch, except a few at the top of the administrative hierarchy, from taking any active part in political management or political campaigns. The penalty provided for the violation of these provisions, or for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by employees of less than administrative rank in the executive branch, was immediate dismissal.

The first Hatch Act thus applied only to federal employees, and the prohibition against political activity applied in the main only to those federal employees who are not in the classified services, since members of the classified services have long been prohibited from political activity by Rule No. 1 of the Civil Service Commission. The provision of the Hatch Act was obviously patterned after the civil service rule. The civil ser-

¹*Interpretations by the United States Civil Service Commission of the Hatch Act and Regulations on Political Activity (As Developed to November, 1940)* Washington, U. S. Civil Service Commission, November 1940.

²Seventy-sixth Congress, 1st Session, Public Law No. 252 (S. 1871).

vice regulations, it should be noted, are stricter than the Hatch Act, particularly with reference to the expression of opinion on political issues and candidates.

Act Extended

The scope of the Hatch Act was greatly extended by an amending statute passed in the third session of the Seventy-sixth Congress and approved on July 19, 1940.⁸ This law made important additions to corrupt practices legislation by limiting individual contributions to national political campaigns to \$5,000 in any calendar year, by prohibiting the purchase of things of value such as convention books from candidates or political committees, by prohibiting government contractors from making any political contributions, and by limiting the total fund of any national political committee to \$3,000,000 in any calendar year. Criminal penalties were provided for violators of these sections, as well as for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by any person employed in an administrative capacity by a state or local agency in connection with an activity financed in whole or in part by federal grants or loans.

The second Hatch Act also extended the prohibition against political activity to the officers and employees of state and local agencies whose principal employment is in connection with any activity financed in whole or in part by federal grants or loans. Only governors, lieutenant-governors, mayors, and other elective

officials are exempted from this provision.

The penalty provided for engaging in prohibited political activities, or for the use of official authority in elections and nominations by employees of less than administrative rank, is dismissal from the office or employment then held and suspension from re-employment in any other state or local agency that is similarly financed for a period of eighteen months. If the state or local agency concerned does not comply by dismissing the offender, the penalty takes the form of a deduction from the federal grant or loan of an amount double the annual salary of the offender.

Responsibility for enforcement of the Hatch Act is divided among a number of different agencies. With respect to any clause which provides a criminal penalty, including the provisions relating to political funds and contributions, manipulation of relief recipients for political purposes, and use of official authority for political purposes by administrators, responsibility falls upon the United States Department of Justice, acting through the usual channels of prosecution in the federal courts.

Responsibility for enforcement of the ban against political activity upon federal employees who are not members of the classified services falls upon the federal department or agency in which they are employed. There is no provision for a hearing. It may therefore be presumed that the facts relating to alleged violations by federal employees outside the classified civil service are to be determined administratively, and that it

⁸Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753 (S. 3046).

is the duty of the administrative head to realize the purpose of the act by immediately dismissing any person so determined to be a violator.

Federal employees who are members of the classified civil service remain subject to the disciplinary action of the Civil Service Commission, just as before the passage of the Hatch Act.

Enforcement of Act

Responsibility for enforcing the Hatch Act upon state and local employees falls in the first instance upon the federal agencies which have charge of the grants-in-aid or loans to the states and local units. When any such federal agency suspects that there has been a violation of the act by any state or local employee subject to its provisions, it has the duty to file a report to that effect with the United States Civil Service Commission. The commission has announced that it expects such reports to be "specific as to offenses, dates, names, places, and other matters essential to form a proper basis for investigation."⁴

While responsibility for initiating proceedings is clearly placed upon the federal agencies that have charge of the federal aid program, the statute, by authorizing the commission to act "upon the receipt of any other information which seems to the commission to warrant an investigation," just as clearly leaves the way open

for the filing of complaints by private individuals or groups.⁵ That the commission interprets the statute in this way is revealed by the fact that it advised one of its correspondents to furnish exact information concerning the alleged political activities of a local employee.⁶

Upon receipt of information which seems to the commission to warrant an investigation, it has the duty to fix a time and place for a hearing, at which the interested parties may appear with counsel. The commission has power to determine whether any prohibited political activity actually took place, and if so, whether the violation warrants dismissal. If it so decides, it has a duty to notify the parties involved, and responsibility for enforcement of the act is shifted for the time being to the state or local agency employing the offender.

A thirty-day waiting period intervenes, during which an appeal may be taken to the federal district court or the state or local agency may proceed to dismiss the offender. If, at the end of thirty days, the commission finds the offender has not been dismissed, it has a duty to notify the federal agency having jurisdiction over the federal funds involved. Thus, responsibility for enforcement is shifted back to where it started, and the federal agency is directed to withhold a sum amounting to double the annual salary of the offender.

While numerous agencies share in

⁴*Political Activity and Political Assessments of Persons Employed by State and Local Agencies in Connection with Activities Financed in Whole or in Part by Loans or Grants Made by the United States or by Any Federal Agency*, U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, September 22, 1940, p. 10.

⁵Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753, Sec. 12(b).

⁶See file CX:JQC:VB, dated October 30, 1940, in *Interpretations*, etc., as cited in Note 1.

the responsibility for enforcement of the Hatch Act, the authority of the United States Civil Service Commission is paramount in all cases involving state and local employees. The commission not only has power to determine the facts, but it is also designated as the authority for interpretation of the terms of the act. Its regulations on the political activities of officeholders are, for all practical purposes, incorporated into the act by reference, and it is granted a broad rule-making power in connection with its function as chief enforcing agency.

Scope of Provisions

The interpretations of the Hatch Act by the commission, as so far made public, are therefore of the greatest importance to state and local employees who are interested in knowing whether they are subject to the act, and if so, what they may and may not do in politics. The interpretations of the commission cannot, of course, be regarded as final, since its decisions are subject to review by the federal courts.

The Hatch Act contains some fairly definite indications as to its scope among state and local employees. For one thing, the prohibition against the use of official authority in elections and nominations by persons employed in administrative positions applies to employees in all branches of the state and local governments—executive, legislative, and judicial. The prohibition against the use of official authority by employees below the administrative grade and the general prohibition against political activity, however,

apply only to employees in the executive branch.⁷ The non-elective employees of state and local legislative bodies and courts are thus unaffected by the Hatch Act. Employees of state and local legislative bodies, clerks and stenographers of legislative committees and of individual legislators, and employees of courts such as clerks, reporters, secretaries, bailiffs, and deputies are thus not subject to the prohibition against political activity.⁸

There are indications that, for purposes of determining the scope of the act, the term "executive branch" will be interpreted broadly to include all departments and agencies that are not clearly parts of the legislative or judicial branches. The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, when reporting on the second Hatch Act, stated its opinion that educational and eleemosynary institutions were included within the executive branch within the meaning of the act.⁹ The same interpretation has been adopted by the Civil Service Commission. If such institutions are part of the executive branch for purposes of the act, then it would appear that any and all administrative agencies which are not clearly legislative or judicial are also included.

⁷Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753, Sec. 12(f) (1). The Attorney-General so ruled with reference to the first Hatch Act. See Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document* No. 135.

⁸U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, p. 13(f). Compare the ruling of the Attorney-General on the first Hatch Act in Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document* No. 135.

⁹Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, *House of Representatives Report* No. 2376, p. 13, Sec. 9.

The Civil Service Commission has said: "A complete classification of state or local officers or employees within the scope of the statute is, of course, impossible."¹⁰ To November 1940, the commission had announced that in its opinion the Hatch Act applied generally to the following state and local departments, agencies, and services: National Guard, unemployment department or unemployment compensation board or commission, commissioner of public works, highway commission or department, soldiers' home, tree distribution program, board or department of education, agricultural experiment station, agricultural extension service of a college of agriculture, land-grant college or university, county welfare board, local housing authority, city employees supervising WPA projects, conservancy district when some of its bonds were owned by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, vocational education. It does not follow that all of the employees of these and other similar agencies are subject to the Hatch Act, as an examination of the terms of the statutes making the federal grants or loans may show that some of the employees of an agency are included while others are not.

The prohibition against political activity extends, in the language of the statute, to any "officer or employee of any state or local agency whose principal employment is in connection with any activity which is financed in whole or in part by loans or grants made by the United

States or by any federal agency."¹¹ In this passage the key words, and those of greatest importance in determining the scope of the prohibitions that follow, are "principal employment" and "activity." The commission has announced some general principles which it proposes to follow in the interpretation of these words, but their application to any specific case depends upon the facts of that particular case.

"Principal Employment"

The commission interprets the words "principal employment" to apply to employment with the state or local agency, and not to employment that is private in character.¹² Persons whose public employment is only temporary, intermittent, or on a per diem basis, and not occupying a substantial portion of the working time and not affording the principal means of livelihood, are not subject to the act, except during the period of active duty.¹³ The period of active duty embraces the whole period of status as a paid employee, and not just the working hours of the day. Temporary employees may continue to hold political offices or to be listed as candidates for elective office. Thus, members of state administrative boards who are appointed for an extended term but who are paid, if at all, only when actually occupied with the work of the board are subject to the Hatch Act only during

¹¹Seventy-sixth Congress, 3rd Session, Public Law No. 753, Sec. 12(a).

¹²U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, p. 13(e).

¹³The Attorney-General so ruled with reference to the first Hatch Act. See Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document No. 135*.

¹⁰U. S. Civil Service Commission Form 1236-A, p. 12.

periods of active duty. Persons who are employed from time to time on a fee basis to perform special services for state or local agencies that receive federal grants are not subject to the Hatch Act.¹⁴

When the part-time employment with a state or local agency is regular, so as to constitute a permanent arrangement, the situation is different. A regular part-time employee is ordinarily an employee within the meaning of the act. Thus, an attorney retained by a county welfare board for an annual fee would be subject to the act, unless he could show that he was paid only for the days upon which he was occupied with public business. The commission has expressed its opinion that a part-time member of the faculty of a land-grant college or university is subject to the act, because the connection with the state agency is permanent in character as distinct from occasional or intermittent. The employment with the state or local agency may occupy only a small part of the whole of an individual's working time; but if that employment be in connection with a federally-financed activity, then the individual must be considered subject to the act, unless there are other facts to dictate a contrary conclusion.

Other Acts Considered

The key to the interpretation of the word "activity" as used in the Hatch Act is to be found, not in that act, but in the other federal acts

providing for grants-in-aid and loans to the states and local units.

In any particular case, the relevant statutes must be examined in order to determine exactly what activity of the state or local government is supported by federal money. Limitations upon the use of federal money are especially important in determining the scope of the act within any state or local department or agency. In this connection the commission has said, ". . . the meaning of the word 'activity' should be kept in close relationship to the terms of the federal grant providing funds for such activity. . . . The specific language or terms of the federal statute, regulation, or order making a grant to a state are considered basic in determining the 'activity.'"¹⁵

The Federal Highway Act provides for federal grants to states for the construction and reconstruction of roads, rather than for the maintenance and repair of roads. Construction is defined to exclude the locating, surveying, and mapping of roads, and the costs of right of way. A state highway department may have an organizational set-up which makes it possible to identify some employees as subject to the Hatch Act, while others are not. If a member of the staff is occupied exclusively with functions for which federal money may not be spent, such as maintenance work or the location of routes, then he is not affected by the Hatch Act. The commission has announced its intention of following the

¹⁴By analogy from the Attorney-General's opinion on the first Hatch Act. See *ibid.*

¹⁵Quotations are from letters in *Interpretations*, etc., as cited in Note 1, unless otherwise indicated.

federal money as closely as possible in determining the scope of the law.

If the employee's time is divided as between functions which may and may not be supported by federal money, the question of his status under the Hatch Act turns upon a matter of fact. If the major portion of his time is occupied with maintenance activities, and the lesser portion with construction activities, he is not subject to the act; if it were the other way around, he would be subject to it. "Principal employment" thus means that more than half of the total hours of one's employment with a state or local agency are devoted to an activity which receives financial support from the federal government.

These principles may also be illustrated in terms of federal grants in support of education. Upon examining the statutes making grants for the benefit of the land-grant colleges and universities, the original Morrill Act and its amendments and the Jones-Bankhead Act of 1935, the commission reached the conclusion that the grants are in the nature of a general endowment in support of the educational program of such institutions. The "activity" in this case is education, and any person whose "principal employment," that is to say, the major portion of his public employment, is in connection with the educational program of a land-grant college or university, is subject to the Hatch Act. But under the Morrill Acts, no part of the federal money can be spent for the purchase of land, or for the purchase, construction, repair, or maintenance of buildings; so an employee who

gives most of his time to such functions, rather than to education, escapes liability under the Hatch Act.

The indications are that the words "in connection with" as used in the statute will play no great part in the determination of its scope. They may, it appears, be read in their natural meaning. Once the federally-financed "activity" is identified, it is relatively easy to determine whether a person is employed "in connection with" it. It is perhaps fair to say that the connection must be proximate, and understandable by a person of average intelligence, and not based upon some obscure statutory provision or technical point. The question of whether such employment constitutes the "principal employment," however, offers greater difficulty, and turns in specific cases upon the facts of institutional organization. A state or local employee whose only connection with the expenditure of federal funds is a contractual arrangement for the performance of services for the federal government is not subject to the act. Thus, a county jailer who keeps federal prisoners on a contract basis is not, in the opinion of the commission, within the terms of the act.

Size of Grant Immaterial

The commission has said: "The relationship of the amount of the federal grant to the amount of the contribution supplied by the state is not considered controlling." Thus, in the case of a land-grant college or university, the federal funds which it receives may be only a small percentage of its total budget, but this makes no difference in the applica-

tion of the Hatch Act to its employees.

The commission has also said: "It should be pointed out that the commission does not construe the statute to make the question of the source of the employee's compensation controlling." That is to say, the Hatch Act was not drafted in terms of the source of salaries. It is not necessary to show that some part of the employee's salary is paid out of federal funds in order to make him subject to the law. Nor is it necessary to show that the federal grant makes the employment possible. It is irrelevant, but perhaps true in many cases, to say that the employment, or the agency itself, would not exist in the absence of the federal grant. An employee in a state highway department or a land-grant college or university receives his salary checks from the state, but he is nevertheless subject to the Hatch Act.

State and local employees who are subject to the act do not become free from its restrictions during vacations or when absent on leave, whether with or without pay.¹⁶

It will probably be held that a fully executed federal grant does not bring any state or local employees under the effect of the Hatch Act.

¹⁶By analogy from the Attorney-General's opinion on the first Hatch Act. See Seventy-sixth Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Document No. 135*.

This may be illustrated in terms of P.W.A. grants. A city might get a P.W.A. grant for the construction of a building, and some of its employees, not otherwise subject to the act, might be assigned to assist in the construction. It is clear that such employees would become subject to the act, provided their principal employment was for the time being in connection with the construction. Their liability would, however, cease upon the completion of the building.

It would be foolish to pretend that all questions relating to the scope of the Hatch Act among state and local employees can be resolved by reference to the authoritative materials so far available. The Civil Service Commission has, however, announced some pretty definite opinions of the key passages in the act and some principles which it intends to follow in making interpretations. Numerous groups of state and local employees may be regarded as analogous to those groups which have been said to be, in the opinion of the commission, subject to the Hatch Act. The principles of interpretation as announced by the commission may be applied to other statutes authorizing grants or loans to states or local units. By the use of these techniques many employees will be able to determine to their own satisfaction their status under this law.

Contributors in Review

A MASTER'S thesis is the basis of **Robert S. Avery's** *Civil Service and Civic Opinion*. Mr. Avery was a teaching assistant in the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University and a research associate in the same department when the civil service poll was made. He has his B.A. from Baldwin-Wallace College, vintage 1939. He is now with the Tennessee Valley Authority as personnel assistant.

ART, planning and zoning, and civic service have gone hand in hand in the career of **Albert S. Bard** (*Winning the Billboard War*) who is, vocationally speaking, a practicing lawyer in New York City. From its creation in 1923 he has been active in the National Roadside Council. He holds or has held office in such organizations as the City Club and the Citizens Union of New York, the Honest Ballot Association, the Municipal Art Society of New York, and the Fine Arts Federation of New York. In 1940 Mr. Bard received the National Interfraternity Conference medal for his services in that direction as well.

CATAPULTED into the national scene by the spread of the observance of "Citizenship Day" which he fathered two years ago, **R. J. Colbert** (*In Recognition of the Native-Born New Voter*) is well qualified to write upon that subject. He has been chairman of the social science staff of the University of Wisconsin's progressive extension division for more than ten years, on the university faculty for twenty. Dr. Colbert, who studied at DePauw, Michigan, and Wisconsin and whose widespread experience includes municipal research bureau work, has counselled many local governments in Wisconsin and has been a leader in the development of community round tables on public administration in that state.

A NEW book on *Municipal Management* (1941) is the latest achievement in the varied career of **Thomas H. Reed** (*The Metropolitan Problem—1941*). Dr. Reed has been a lawyer for the Anti-Saloon League, a professor, executive secretary to a governor, a city manager, a field worker and consultant on problems of municipal government, a research executive for the Republican party, and author and translator, and a recipient of the Order of Leopold (Belgium). Apropos of the article in this issue, he has been director of research for the Pennsylvania Commission to Study Municipal Consolidation in Allegheny County and for the St. Louis City and County Metropolitan Development Commission, and director of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League.

ACTIVE in the movement to amend the Hatch Act so that teachers may be exempted, **Joseph R. Starr** (*The Hatch Act—An Interpretation*) has set forth his views in articles, speeches, and in a hearing before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. Dr. Starr is a member of the department of political science of the University of Minnesota and a contributor to numerous political science and public opinion journals.

National Defense and the Cities

Mayor LaGuardia on Civilian Defense; firefighters begin training courses; collection of aluminum scrap tested; nutrition conference sounds warning.

By DANIEL W. HOAN

United States Office of Civilian Defense

MAYOR LA GUARDIA, whom the President has appointed United States Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, is making personal visits to the various army corps areas throughout the country. By mid-June he had visited the first, third, and fifth corps areas, where he appeared before meetings of governors, mayors, defense council officials, and the responsible army officers in charge of each area. In each case Mayor La Guardia's purpose was to ascertain how far the program of civilian defense had been advanced and to obtain first-hand information to be utilized in framing and administering the program for the country as a whole.

Following are excerpts from the Mayor's speeches:

"The people of this country must be made to know that the entire technique of war has changed and that there is no such thing as holding an enemy from a given point at a front line trench. Heretofore there was always a war zone and within that zone armies fought. That has all disappeared. With the advent of new weapons of war and an improved art in flying we have seen that every coast city and every industrial city is a target for attack and that civilians are exposed and subjected to the danger of war which heretofore was limited to the army or the navy.

"You who come from large cities

will recognize how easy it is to create disorder and panic in any center of congested population. There is one thing that is necessary and you leaders will have to bear it in mind constantly and impress it upon the people, and that is discipline. We have learned from England that enthusiasm and willingness to serve are by themselves not enough. We have plenty of enthusiasm in this country, plenty of willingness to serve; but just what to do and how and when to do it requires a great deal of preparatory training.

"Although England expected aerial bombing or attack from the air in the early days of the war, there wasn't very much preparatory training or preparatory effort, and a large number of lives were lost in the first months of the air attacks. Out of necessity England established and ordered disciplined and trained forces for the civilian defense of her people.

"We are not accustomed to discipline in this country. We like to do what we want, but at this time, when everything is changing, when for the first time entire cities and civilian populations are being subjected to attack from the air, it is necessary to adjust ourselves to protecting lives in the best way possible. In the event of an air attack on any of our cities we must prepare to have sufficient leaders—not in every city, not in every section, but in every block

—to train the people of that block and that particular building what to do. We must educate and train the residents of our cities where to go and how to go in the event of an attack.

"When we were dropping bombs twenty odd years ago, we carried in our type of bombing plane some twenty-four bombs. Perhaps twelve were high explosive and twelve were incendiary bombs, and it was very tame in comparison with what is going on now. We could not possibly cause very much damage assuming every bomb was a hit.

"All that is changed. Our reports and our observations in London showed that from two hundred to five hundred fires were started at different points in London and other English cities at the same time. Fire fighting, therefore, becomes a most important factor in the civilian defense program. Normal fire department personnel and equipment cannot cope with the situation under present conditions. We need to train auxiliary fire-fighting forces. We must organize and train medical units to go out if a city is attacked, and to give first aid to the injured. Women can contribute a great deal in this phase of defense work and also in serving as air wardens for individual buildings and blocks in order to keep the residents of that block or building under proper discipline and to guide them in accordance with a prearranged plan.

"I want to impress upon you the seriousness of this work. None will be compelled to render services, but those who do volunteer must under-

stand fully that they are embarking upon very useful and patriotic work, but very serious work as well. The minute they enter any of these auxiliary forces, they must be willing to take the necessary training and they must be willing to subject themselves to discipline. They will be called into action only in the event of some internal disorder or catastrophe or in the event of attack by a foreign enemy. Proper training of our civilian forces can greatly reduce the dangers resulting from panic, disorder, and confusion.

"Let us hope and pray we are never called into action, but if the time does come, let us demonstrate that even in a democracy it is possible to discipline people; that it is possible to take care of our people; and that we will make a good job of it."

Many cities and states have contributed greatly to framing a general program of civilian defense. From now on, however, all such local endeavors must be tied in and coördinated with a well planned national program. Under Mayor La Guardia's leadership, the studies of civil defense problems which have been under way in the War Department and other federal agencies can now be coördinated with these local experiments, to fit into a great mosaic pattern, in order that the efforts of all individuals may accomplish the greatest possible good.

Special Training for Firefighters

A two weeks' special course to train firemen in the methods of com-

batting bombs and poison gas is to be conducted by the Chemical Warfare Service of the army, according to a recent announcement by Mayor La Guardia.

Training was scheduled to begin on June 30, at the Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, with the first group of fifty men from thirteen states and the District of Columbia. At the end of the first training period, another group of fifty men will begin instruction. This program will be conducted throughout the coming months.

The men who have received this special instruction are expected to go back to their own localities and organize local training courses. The objective is to make sure that the entire local fire department will know how to handle fires resulting from incendiary and other types of bombs used in modern warfare, as well as how to combat poisonous gases and other aspects of chemical warfare.

Aircraft Warning Service Registrations

Reports received in Washington from the state and local defense council organizations show that considerable progress has been made in the program of registration of volunteers for the aircraft warning service now being established by the army air force. It is vitally necessary that each locality take this problem of registration seriously. At the earliest possible moment, and as directed, each locality should be prepared to turn over the lists of registrants so that the army air force may organize the selected volunteers promptly into active service units.

Aluminum Scrap Collection Tested in Two Counties

An aluminum scrap collection test campaign, the forerunner of a national campaign, was held in Dane County, Wisconsin, and in Henrico County, Virginia, during the first part of June. The test was carried out by the Division of State and Local Cooperation at the request of the Office of Production Management.

Final results of the two tests will not be known definitely until all collected material has been processed and ready for the smelters, but scrap metal dealers in the two localities estimate that approximately 80,000 pounds net of scrap sheet and casting aluminum were collected. Since the combined population of these counties is about 1/260 of the total population of the United States, authorities have expressed the opinion that the national drive should reach the 20,000,000 pounds fixed as the goal.

On June 22 the Office of Production Management announced a nationwide campaign to collect used aluminum. The campaign will be conducted under the direction of the Office of Civilian Defense. In a radio address June 24, Mayor La Guardia, Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, asked the women of America to give the government all of their old, unused aluminum utensils. July 21 has been set as the date for the opening of the drive.

National Nutrition Conference Held at Washington

One who heard the final reports of the various committees at the National Nutrition Conference for

Defense held in Washington, May 26, 27, and 28, could not help feeling that we in the United States have done far too little to promote the health of our population.

Dr. Parran, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, pointed out that the life span has been lengthened only because of the elimination of deaths among infants and children, and that little has been done since the achievements of Pasteur actually to lengthen the span of life; that the life span after age forty could be extended by ten years through proper diet alone.

Those who read this may well ask themselves the question: What have the federal, state, and local governments done to solve this nutrition problem?

We have learned that during the World War approximately 44 per cent of the manhood of this nation was incapable of performing full military duties; thus we cannot claim lack of notice of the problem. Rejections amount to about the same proportion today. What are we going to do about it?

In calling the National Nutrition Conference, President Roosevelt said: "In recent years scientists have made outstanding discoveries as to the amounts and kinds of foods needed for maximum health and vigor. Yet every survey of nutrition, by whatever methods conducted, shows that here in the United States undernourishment is widespread and serious. The Department of Agriculture has estimated that many millions of men, women, and children do not get the foods that science considers essential."

Mrs. Roosevelt told the conference that if Germany and England can afford to do something about nutrition during war time, as they are doing, surely this country can afford to do something now.

Russell M. Wilder, of the Mayo Institute, stated that the evidence presented at the conference "should convince everyone that the nation is faced with a serious problem of malnutrition, and that despite a so-called surplus of foods a great many of our people are not receiving the fare they need for strength of mind and body."

It was brought out that in the training camps the army is employing the most recent information as well as the services of efficient dietitians in prescribing the diet for soldiers. Because of this care, says Clyde Davis of the Office of Production Management, "America has a much healthier soldier and a total absence of the epidemics that used to take a more severe toll of life in the army than did the enemy's guns."

Brigadier General Lewis B. Hershey, Deputy Director of Selective Service, said that out of a million men examined by Selective Service, about 400,000 have been found unfit for general military service under present standards. Probably one-third of these are suffering from disabilities directly or indirectly connected with nutrition. "America must be strong, but she cannot be strong when one-half of her sons are substandard physically. America needs whole men, not half men. She must develop vigorous and healthy youths; she must *prehabilitate* those whose defects are slight; she must *rehabilitate* those examined and found defi-

cient. The task before us, like all tasks in a democracy, is the duty and responsibility of each and every citizen."

In determining ways and means of utilizing this country's abundant food resources for national defense, the nine hundred leaders called together for the conference adopted recommendations to the President which can be summed up as follows:

1. The food an individual eats fundamentally affects his health, strength, stamina, nervous condition, and mental functioning.

2. Wars are won or lost according to the health, courage, and confidence of the whole population and the ability of the people to exert themselves to the utmost. Therefore, the newer knowledge of nutrition must be used not only for the armed forces and the workers in defense industries, but for the civilian population as a whole.

3. Experimentation proves that the condition resulting from undernourishment is serious enough to be a genuine cause of weakness in the present national emergency and to warrant national attention and concerted action.

In view of these recommendations, every municipality should organize a committee of citizens interested in the subject of nutrition, which will not only study and conduct experiments but will disseminate the results, and organize the entire population to the end that all may have proper information on how to purchase and prepare food so as to build health for every living soul.

RECOGNITION OF NATIVE-BORN NEW VOTER

(Continued from Page 399)

a clear understanding of the program and how to proceed in getting it established as a regular part of the education of their communities. In addition to doing valuable personal work, the members of this N.E.A. committee have now published *The American Citizen's Handbook*, explaining the program and giving much valuable information for local citizen organizations, and they have published in mimeograph form *The Annual County Convention of New Voters* and *The Guide for Discussion Leaders*.

Town Hall, Inc., also has recognized the value of the program as a basis for furthering free and frank discussion of American major issues and problems. In the leadership institute held during May of this year considerable attention was given to this program for citizenship training and induction of new voters.

The United States Office of Education has also recognized the importance of this program, and especially aided in the set-up of local forums and training of discussion leaders.

Several states have made considerable headway in establishing the program in connection with their state universities, particularly Illinois, Michigan, California, and Indiana. Other states have made a start. There is a real need for some national organization to help the various states set up the program on a sound educational basis.

The Researcher's Digest: July

Mobilizing police for the national emergency and other public safety problems; state defense councils; reports on financial problems from Texas, Minnesota, Maryland, and Michigan.

LEST the "God-sakers in our midst" have their way and cause the organization of volunteer and vigilante groups clothed with police authority to deal with the present emergency situation; lest the impatient have their way and cause the wholesale consolidation of policing areas with insufficient regard to particular local requirements, Bruce Smith of the **Institute of Public Administration** in New York City has prepared a plan for *Mobilizing Police for Emergency Duties—A Program for State and Local Governments* (December 1940, 19 pp.).

Distributed by the Division of State and Local Cooperation of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, for the information of state and local governmental officials, the monograph leans on the experience of three states—New York, New Jersey, Virginia—which have recently put into effect police mobilization programs. In picturesque language, both the volunteer and the consolidation methods are condemned: the first as a menace to the very liberties that are to be protected, the second as a threat to basic considerations of local autonomy.

The mobilization plan calls for the leadership of the state governors in designating police mobilization districts in the state, each of which is already adequately supplied with the necessary men and materials to cope with possible emergencies. The governor is to appoint a civil defense coordinator for the state as a whole, and a police mobilization coordinator for each district. Each district will comprise the entire police resources of state, city, county, town, and village as well as sheriffs within that area. Forms for

inventory of police resources within the areas and plans for their concerted use are set forth.

Baltimore Police Survey

Reverting to the normal basic problems of police organization, Mr. Smith has also recently produced, with the assistance of L. S. Timmerman, under the auspices of the **Institute of Public Administration**, *The Baltimore Police Survey* (1941). This is a 155-page book which enters exhaustively into all phases of police administration in Baltimore, with criticisms and plans for improvement. The survey was the result of "a widely held belief . . . that the Baltimore Police Department is greatly undermanned"; of "a presentment by the grand jury to this general effect"; of "an exploratory study by the **Baltimore Criminal Justice Commission**"; and of the "desire of the police commissioner . . . for review by a disinterested agency."

The survey's conclusion: ". . . the real and pressing issue is not the quantity but the quality of police service. . . ."

Pensions in Akron

Also on the subject of public safety, but concentrated on one phase of the problem, is a thorough report on *Police Relief and Firemen's Pension Funds* (1941, 94 pp.) by the **Municipal Research Bureau of the Akron Chamber of Commerce**. Three main recommendations are advanced as a result of the conclusion that the Akron pension setup is not now organized along sound lines. "The Ohio statutes should be amended to require council approval of benefit rates and conditions under

which pensions are granted; such rates and conditions should be made a matter of written contract between the city and its men; and accrued obligations for future pensions should be recognized as debt."

Defending California

A handy, brief summary of a public administration development of the present emergency situation is *State Defense Councils*, prepared by Russell Barthell of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (May 1941, mimeo., 21 pp.). While the emphasis is upon California, the monograph gives pertinent data on defense councils in all other states, (forty-three had been organized at the time of the report's publication) discussing organization, staff and allotment of funds, proposals for organization in states without councils, and relationship with other state agencies.

Texas Taxes

The current crop of research reports on matters of taxation and finance is impressively heavy. The **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas**, with the assistance of the WPA, is responsible for two weighty studies whose covers are appropriately decorated with a drawing of a female personification of Law holding a scales over the tax roll—*An Analysis of Ad Valorem Property Tax Bases in Dallas and in Fort Worth* (1941, 83 and 99 pp.). The reports are an outgrowth of an earlier work by the bureau on the general subject of the assessment of property in Texas cities, which found many deficiencies in the assessment process. These works are by way of copious illustration of that thesis. Tax assessment techniques in each city are described and evaluated, sale price data is advanced for purposes of comparison, distribution of the tax is ascertained,

and tax and homestead exemptions are detailed.

Toward Fiscal Understanding

A different type of contribution to the literature of finance is *An Analysis of Minnesota State Fiscal Operations, 1932-1940*, subtitled *Dedication of Revenues and Erroneous Allocation of Accounting Functions as Obstacles to Sound Fiscal Operation*. This is a thirty-six-page bulletin of the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research** (No. 11, 1941). A vigorous foreword advances a highly practical reason for the study: "Every person, however intelligent, who sincerely seeks to gain an understanding of the fiscal condition of our state government and of its problems of expenditure and taxation, invariably finds that his efforts bog down in a slough of complicated statistics relating to interlocking funds and of the details and technicalities of accounting and of auditing requirements." Blame is laid upon the practice of dedication of revenues to specific purposes, and upon poor distribution of accounting duties. Reason for the report is to untangle state finances for the benefit of the confused layman.

Baltimore's Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy also brings forth *Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore, as at January 1, 1941*, (15 pp.) for the edification of citizens who take a serious interest in the affairs of the city government. These reports have been an annual event with the bureau since 1931.

"Michigan Pamphlets"

Two more of the attractive little "Michigan Pamphlets" have been brought forth by the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan**, on *Retail Sales Taxation in Michigan* and on *Federal Expenditures in Michigan* (1941, 20 and 36 pp.). Nos. 12 and 13 of the bureau's series conclude, re-

spectively, that "Michigan's heterogeneous system of tax administration would be much improved by the adoption of a coordinated plan of centralized tax administration, such as the proposal [before the legislature] for a single department of revenue"; and that "conditions have developed under the existing governmental structure which appear to lead inevitably to a greater sharing in the cost and administration of certain functions by the federal, state, and local governments."

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Equalized Valuations. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., *Bulletin*, May 1941, 1 p.

Defense

State Defense Councils. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, May 1941. 21 pp.

About Preparedness. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just A Second*, June 7, 1941. 2 pp.

Elections

Name Candidates in Detroit Elections. By Maurice M. Ramsey. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., May 1941. 15 pp.

The Election of Aldermen by Wards. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, *Mind Your Business*, June 11, 1941. 4 pp.

Finance

Federal Expenditures in Michigan. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1941. 36 pp.

Pertinent Financial Data. City of Baltimore, as at January 1, 1941. Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., 1941. 15 pp.

An Analysis of Minnesota State Fiscal Operations 1932-1940—Dedication of Revenues and Erroneous Allocation of Accounting Functions as Obstacles to Sound Fiscal Operation. Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Inc., Saint Paul, March 1941. 36 pp.

Licenses

Indiana Motorists Pay Over a Half Million Dollars Annually in Service Charges to Auto License Bureau Managers. Fort Wayne Taxpayers Research Association, *Research Bulletin*, April-May 1941. 4 pp.

Local Government

Local Government in Massachusetts. Bureau of Public Administration, Massachusetts State College, Amherst, March 1941. 67 pp.

Pensions

Police Relief and Firemen's Pension Funds. Akron Municipal Research Bureau of the Akron Chamber of Commerce, February 10, 1941. 94 pp.

Personnel

Effective Personnel Administration. Providence Governmental Research Bureau, May 1941. 1 p.

Police

The Baltimore Police Survey. By Bruce Smith. Institute of Public Administration, New York City, 1941. 155 pp.

Mobilizing Police for Emergency Duties—A Program for State and Local Governments. By Bruce Smith. Institute of Public Administration. New York City, December 1940. 19 pp.

State Aid

About an \$8 Million Gouge. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just A Second*, May 20, 1941. 2 pp.

Taxation

Sales Tax—Largest Source of State Revenue in Missouri. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, May 21, 1941. 2 pp.

Retail Sales Taxation in Michigan. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1941. 20 pp.

Sales Tax As It Now Exists. Dayton Research Association, *Facts*, May 28, 1941. 3 pp.

An Analysis of Ad Valorem Property Tax Bases in Dallas. Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas, Austin, 1941. 83 pp.

An Analysis of Ad Valorem Property Tax Bases in Ft. Worth. Bureau of Municipal Research, University of Texas, Austin, 1941. 99 pp.

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Private Rehabilitation of Blighted Areas Encouraged

***New York and Illinois
legislatures enact
permissive legislation***

ENACTMENT of the Desmond-Mitchell "urban redevelopment corporations" law in New York has stimulated interest in rehabilitation of blighted areas by private capital in that state and elsewhere. A largely similar bill has passed the Illinois legislature. Both bills have aroused controversy as to the extent to which governmental powers should be employed in connection with private corporations.

The New York legislation, first of its kind in the nation, permits all municipalities in the state to offer private corporations special inducements to undertake large-scale development of such areas. Various controls are applied in the effort to safeguard the public interest.

The special privileges granted redevelopment corporations include ten years' immunity from the payment of real property taxes in excess of those assessed against the property used at the time redevelopment activities are begun. The corporations have the power of eminent domain when 51 per cent of the necessary property has been acquired, and the right to obtain public land by either sale or lease on consent of the governing body concerned.

The local planning body must approve the location of the project, which must conform to the master plan of the city. The developers must assure

that there will be available for displaced families, either on the redevelopment site or elsewhere, dwellings of legally accepted standard, at substantially the same rentals that existed in the area before. Adequate public facilities, such as water and light, must be guaranteed. Operating plans and finances of the corporation must be approved by a local public supervising agency; and the corporation's distributable earnings are limited to 5 per cent during the ten-year period of partial tax immunity. No part of the redevelopment site may be sold or leased without consent of the supervising agency.

In the hope of spurring private capital into such redevelopment activity the Citizens Housing Council of New York made public the results of a survey graphically illustrating the economic losses resulting from the existence of blighted areas. Completed by the council's committee on investment housing after nearly two years' work, the report shows that almost half the tax-delinquent real estate in the borough of Manhattan is in the thirteen areas designated by the New York City Planning Commission as suitable for rebuilding and replanning.

Also in greater New York City, the Mayor's Committee on Property Improvement on June 16 issued its third report, which deals with four areas in downtown Brooklyn particularly suited for improvement under the redevelopment act.

The Committee on Urban Land Use of the American Institute of Architects urges the creation of redevelopment corporations. It also recommends that cities create, where legally possible, a city real estate corporation, to take title to properties with heavy tax delinquency. The operations of urban redevelopment corporations could be

designed to dovetail into those of such a city corporation and of the city planning agency. Federal aid as to loans and loan insurance, for the city and possibly the private redevelopment corporations, was also suggested.

The Illinois "neighborhood redevelopment corporation law" authorizes the heads of municipalities to appoint "redevelopment commissions" to supervise and regulate such corporations, which may acquire property by condemnation if they own or have options on 60 per cent of an area authorized to be redeveloped. They are subject to the same taxation of their property as other private corporations, and are not limited as to dividends.

Council-Manager Plan News

The Connecticut legislature on June 4 passed an act providing for a special referendum on June 30 in the town of **Enfield**, which includes the communities of Thompsonville and Hazardville, on the adoption of council-manager government. The Thompsonville Chamber of Commerce and service clubs and the town Democratic organization favored the change, while many local officials were opposed to it. The plan was defeated by a vote of two to one.

Council-manager government was recommended for **Annapolis, Maryland**, in a report submitted to the Mayor by Public Administration Service of Chicago. The city's present form of government was described as complicated and lacking in effective administrative leadership. The council should be the sole policy-determining body and the city's executive officer should be either the mayor or a council-appointed manager—preferably the latter. Three major municipal departments were proposed—finance and records, public works, and utilities and public safety.

Upper Arlington, Ohio, which has re-

cently attained the rank of city, may vote in November on its form of government. It now has the commission form. The manager plan is being considered by the government committee of the Civic Association.

In **Washington Court House, Ohio**, petitions have been filed for an election on abandonment of the manager plan which has been in force for five years.

The manager plan has been discussed in **Bowling Green, Kentucky**, before the Rotary Club. It was favored by speakers, but difficulties in obtaining it under the present law were emphasized; it was stated that it would be impossible to have a local vote on the subject before 1945. Mr. John B. Rodes was made chairman of a committee of the club to suggest new legislation at the next session of the legislature.

In **Illinois** an attempt to bring before the Senate the city manager bill, introduced therein after defeat of the House bill, failed for lack of a committee quorum, thus in effect killing the bill for the session.

The Governor of **North Dakota** has approved a county-manager enabling act passed by the legislature.

Ennis, Texas, has voted down a proposed manager plan.

In **Spokane, Washington**, the Junior Chamber of Commerce is investigating the manager plan.

In **Eugene, Oregon**, a survey by the School of Journalism of the University of Oregon indicates that 65 per cent of the people favor the manager plan.

On July 21 a special election on the manager plan will be held in **Tarpon Springs, Florida**, under provisions of a special act passed this year by the state legislature.

The **Arkansas** legislature has repealed Act 136 of 1939 authorizing cities of more than 50,000 population to adopt city manager government by popular vote. The state capital, **Little Rock**,

which the bill affects, has rejected the manager plan at three special elections, the most recent being last November.

Interest in the manager plan is reported in **Baker, Oregon; Opelousas, Louisiana; Santa Cruz, California; Columbia, Missouri; Grand Island, Nebraska;** and the town of **Glastonbury, Connecticut.**

Strikes of City Employees

In New York City the threatened strike of municipal subway workers for recognition of the Transport Union Workers' Union and increased wages was averted on June 28 after city authorities had agreed to extend existing contracts, carried over from private operation, until a court determination, probably a year hence, of the city's powers in contracting with labor organizations in view of civil service regulations. The city's Board of Transportation has entered into negotiations with union representatives concerning wages of union workers.

A four-day strike of street and other service employees in McKeesport, Pennsylvania, for increased wages and union recognition ended on June 19 when CIO leaders advised the recently formed local of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America to accept the city's offer. Settlement is reported to include wage increases totaling about \$30,000, as compared with demands that were said to total \$350,000 if adopted in all departments. Present wages were given as ranging from \$4.40 per day for second-class laborers to \$6.75 for mechanics. The union was not recognized as such, but the council agreed to deal with a committee of city workers in handling grievances. Employees immediately began clearing up the accumulation of garbage and street debris.

In New Castle, Pennsylvania, a twenty-four-hour strike of sixty municipal service employees ended on June 24. Strikers returned to work on the

promise of city councilmen to make every effort to find funds to grant a wage increase.

No Civil Service for Minneapolis Police Chief

A charter amendment that would have placed the superintendent of police in Minneapolis, Minnesota, under civil service, was defeated on June 9 through failure to obtain the necessary 60 per cent affirmative vote. It received a majority, but fell short of the requirement by a fraction of one per cent. Mayor-elect Marvin L. Kline stated that if the amendment was defeated he would consider selecting the new chief on a competitive or other merit basis.

Public Assistance Increased by States

The American Public Welfare Association on June 23 released the results of a survey of 1941 state legislation indicating that legislatures have increased the provisions for needy aged, dependent children, and the blind, and in general have taken steps to improve the administration of public assistance. Some three-quarters of the forty-three state legislatures meeting this year were covered, the others being still in session.

Maximum old-age monthly grants were raised from \$30 to \$40 in four states, another allowed supplementary aid of \$10 above \$30, two removed restrictions on a \$30 maximum, and one eliminated a definite maximum other than twice the federal contribution.

Five states increased maximum monthly aid to the blind from \$30 to \$40, and two removed top limits. Aid to blind persons paid by all states is stated to average less than \$25 at present.

Six states raised the age limit for aid to school children to eighteen. Another removed a sixteen-year top limit.

Idaho granted its department of public assistance authority to make reciprocal agreements with other states on welfare services and aid to residents and non-residents; Minnesota is to enter into reciprocal agreements with other states for payment to persons moving out of the state. Four other states made provision for coöperation.

North Dakota placed state and county personnel administering crippled children's services under a merit system. Montana removed residence requirements for state and county welfare department personnel when it is impossible to find qualified state residents. Indiana state agencies receiving federal social security aid come under the new state civil service agency.

New Jersey Election Difficulties

All bids for installation of voting machines in Jersey City and other parts of Hudson County, New Jersey, were rejected on June 17 by a vote of three to two of the State House Commission, which had been directed by legislation¹ in 1940 to buy 850 machines and pay for them by withholding from the county certain annual subsidies. Governor Edison called the bids unresponsive, as prescribing methods of payment or delivery not consistent with the legislation. He was joined in this opinion by two Republican members, one of whom said that new legislation would probably be required, and suggested that the legislature appropriate the necessary money and then withhold subsidies in that amount. The Attorney-General had ruled that the law was unconstitutional, as obligating the state to a debt of more than \$100,000 without a referendum.

The New Jersey League of Women

Voters has urged a new election law for the state, substituting nonpartisan, responsible, state control of elections for the present bipartisan, decentralized system of checks and balances.

New York Joint Committee Tackles Reapportionment

In New York State, where there has been no reapportionment of Congressional districts since 1911 or of legislative districts since 1917, appointment of a Joint Legislative Committee was announced on June 17 by Senator J. R. Hanley and Speaker O. D. Heck. The committee is to attempt to work out a plan of reapportionment for both congressional and legislative districts, for action by the 1942 legislature. There are five senators and five assemblymen on the committee; seven are Republicans and three Democrats. Assemblyman Harry A. Reoux of Warrensburg is chairman. William F. Bleakley, Westchester county executive and a former judge, is counsel.

Interstate Trade Barrier Trend Stopped

Opposition to the creation of legislative barriers to interstate commerce has succeeded to the point that almost all restrictive legislation of such character proposed this year has failed of passage, and various legislatures have repealed trade barrier laws antedating 1941. A few bills that passed the legislatures were vetoed, in harmony with the campaign of the State Commissions on Interstate Coöperation.

Legislative attention was directed chiefly at the prevention or elimination of discriminatory legislation concerning local preference, oleomargarine, liquor, taxation, and trucking, according to the Council of State Governments, which conducted a midwest conference early in June in Chicago, at which this subject was given emphasis.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1940, p. 687, and November 1940, p. 748.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

DEFENSE ON MAIN STREET, a new pamphlet just off the press, is the thing we've all been waiting for. It was prepared by the **Council for Democracy** and the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs**, and they describe it as a guide-book for local activities for defense and democracy.

Starting with the assumption that direct participation is the very essence of democracy, the pamphlet sets out to answer the questions heard at every turn today, "What can I do?" "How can I help?" And it proceeds to provide some answers not with vague generalities but with concrete, specific suggestions. Here are the stories of what real individuals have done in very real situations in their own communities. And here are plenty of ideas for existing organizations which are looking for a way to "do something for defense."

Almost as valuable as the extremely readable text are the appendices which include eighteen separate suggestions for community action, a list of national organizations which sponsor pro-democracy activities and which can provide information and advice to interested persons and groups, a section on the use of radio with a list of available scripts, a short discussion of movies, both commercial and non-commercial, and finally what appears to be a very adequate reading list.

This pamphlet strikes us as the most useful thing that has yet appeared in this field and we think no citizen organization will want to be without it. And what's more, it's good reading all the way. Single copies are twenty-five cents with special prices for quantity

orders. Write the Council for Democracy, 285 Madison Avenue, New York.

Those few citizen organizations which shut up shop for the summer, on the theory they have no job to do, might well take a cue from the **League of Women Voters**. The bulletins of the state leagues show they are starting one of their most strenuous campaigns, an effort to rouse public sentiment based on the slogan "Win the Battle of Production," which was adopted at the meeting of the National Council of the league in Washington.

Other groups which have decided this is no time to call a halt or even a slight relaxation of their efforts are those which face local elections in the fall. . . . The **Yonkers City Manager League**, for example, is preparing for an intensive campaign to elect a majority of council members who favor the council-manager plan under which the city operates. The new form of government has been seriously handicapped in its first two years in Yonkers by the fact that three of the five council members have been openly opposed to it. . . . A new women's group has also recently been organized in Yonkers and is endeavoring to obtain the signatures of 20,000 women to the "Women's Clean-Up Yonkers Pledge."

Another November election of importance will take place in New York City, where, if the **Citizens Non-Partisan Committee** has anything to say about it, the citizens will finally have an opportunity to vote on reorganization of the five counties within the city. The **Citizens Union of New York**, the **New York City League of Women Voters**, and the **Women's City Club** have played an important part in the campaign to obtain the 92,500 petition signatures recently filed to place the proposal on the ballot.

Minneapolis had a municipal election on June 9 and again the **Minneapolis**

Research Bureau, affiliated with the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, prepared an excellent *Voters' Directory*, which contained, in addition to information about the candidates, a clear and simple ward map of the city, always a useful addition. Approximately 25,000 copies of the directory were distributed, about half through the coöperation of other organizations (luncheon clubs, women's organizations, parent-teacher associations, etc.), and as a result the vote on election day was much larger than had been expected. Some 7,000 copies of the directory were sent with a covering letter to the new citizens who had been inducted into citizenship at the recognition day ceremonies for twenty-one-year-olds held in Minneapolis last September.

The never-ceasing membership campaign of the **Municipal League of Seattle** continues unabated and each issue of the *Seattle Municipal News* contains another list of new members. We saw one of their recent promotion pieces which struck us as particularly effective. With appropriate illustrations it informed the person receiving the mailing that his head, heart, money, and feet were wanted by the Municipal League. . . . All of which goes to prove that persistent and original efforts are necessary to provide a steady stream of new organization members.

According to the June 9 issue of the **Chicago City Club Bulletin** the civic field has lost another man to the defense program. This time it's the club's civic director, Robert E. Garrigan, who has resigned to become assistant to the Regional Coördinator of Health, Welfare, and Related Defense Activities of the Federal Security Agency. Mr. Garrigan has been with the City Club for the past seven years and is well known in the citizen organization field.

The **Tennessee Taxpayers Association** has just released its ninth annual report for the year 1940 with a summary

of the 1941 session of the state legislature. The report, attractively printed in red and blue, contains a summary of progress in state, city, and county government and an ambitious program of work for the next two-year period.

R. M. W.

Ann Arbor Citizen Council Stimulates Community Action

Six years ago a small group of Ann Arbor citizens organized the Ann Arbor Citizens' Council, and invited others to join them in devoting a little more time to active citizenship.

The founders of the council felt dissatisfied with the traditional, routine manifestations of citizenship. Goodwill toward government, occasional attendance at public meetings, and a vote at election time are the maximum activities for most citizens, even good citizens. Much, if not all, of this activity is passive.

Accordingly, the organizing group hoped, through the Citizens' Council, to develop procedures whereby more citizenship participation in community affairs might be encouraged. The experiments conducted by the council during the past six years have proved that the inertia of citizens is caused chiefly by the lack of specific procedures for initiating citizen action.

To overcome this inertia, four procedures have thus far been developed: intelligent assembling of information relating to community problems, regular attendance at meetings of public bodies, recommendation of specific solutions of community problems, and stimulation, through a publication organ, of an active participation in public affairs. Each of these provide logical steps toward effective united action whenever the membership, through referendum requiring a four-fifths majority vote, decides to act.

These experiments also supported the principle that organizations work-

ing for democracy should themselves be democratic. Too often citizens are invited into organizations in which principles and actions are not only already determined but are unalterable. A constructive program is thus not widely shared. Lacking participation in setting up a procedure, citizens are likely to lose their powers of initiative. Within the council's own organization democratic procedures are strictly followed in all the coordinating organizations which it undertakes to stimulate.

Information

More definite and authentic information on civic matters, particularly local issues, was needed at the very outset. The changing aspects of government require a constantly renewed flow of information, and a kind of information that could not be gleaned from the usual newspaper columns. To provide this information the *Citizen's News*, published biweekly, was founded. Need-

SAMPLE PROJECTS

1. State civil service
2. Establishment of a county health department
3. Teacher tenure
4. Publication of views of candidates for public office
5. City manager form of city government for Ann Arbor.
6. County welfare reorganization

less to say, a sound editorial policy demanded that information be presented objectively and without bias. If an issue is controversial, the editors are obliged to select competent persons in the community, not necessarily members, to present the opposing points of view.

An editorial board is commissioned to work out assignments, and members are asked to prepare reports on a va-

riety of social and political interests—interviews with candidates for office, pending bills in the state legislature and Congress, special or regular meetings of the school board, the city council and the board of supervisors, and official and semi-official records.

Observation

Citizens, it would seem, often exclude themselves from participation in government. Democratic procedures, long ago established to give the citizen a share in government, are being lost through disuse. Members of special committees found it advantageous, therefore, to attend meetings of public bodies. Thus was instituted the system of observers.

In addition to obtaining information for the council as a whole, this practice has had a good effect upon public officials. Regular attendance of citizens at such meetings was so unusual that a few officeholders at first received council representatives with ill-covered suspicion. Now they are reconciled to visitors and even favor them. Sometimes observers are asked to express themselves on issues before the officials, at other times they are granted permission to speak on a pending question, and one board has discussed the desirability of making the presentation of citizen views a regular order of routine business. Through observation of how public business is done, members are acquainting themselves, first-hand, with procedures, personalities, tactics, and public interests.

Organization

To get things done in a democracy, citizens must organize themselves. Too many citizens, unfortunately, assume that government will take the initiative in promoting the public's interests. Government, however, is often handicapped by long-established prac-

tices and is reluctant to initiate more efficient methods. Members of the Citizens' Council concluded, therefore, that citizens could help by making independent studies of certain public problems. Accordingly, committees were appointed, and the information they obtained was presented to the executive board for discussion.

With the assistance of the executive board, the committees invited citizens and representatives of interested organizations to study the facts it had assembled, and the Citizens' Council, whenever practicable, encouraged these citizens to "set up a temporary organization, distinct from the council, to take such action as the circumstances warranted. In no instance has the council advised what action the cooperating organizations should take.

In this way the council has encouraged many citizens who are not members of the council to take the initiative in dealing with public affairs. Such service, it was found, counteracts both the lethargy of government and the widespread indifference of citizens.

Participation

The end of all this activity is intelligent participation. A public official has power delegated to him by the citizens. In Fascism this power cannot be recalled by the people, but in a democracy the ultimate source of power lies with the people. If the citizens of a democracy, therefore, do not assert this authority, they will soon forfeit it to bureaucrats or self-seekers. The one way to preserve this power is through continuous participation in public affairs and through constant contact with public officials and public bodies. The council fosters procedures for engaging all its members in various citizen tasks.

Through the citizens' action committee, which assigns certain duties to the membership organized within

the respective wards, members are encouraged to participate in pre-election discussions. They are urged to take an active interest in the party organization of their choice. Through other activities of the council, members are aided in promoting civic projects within their own wards and in identifying themselves with community affairs generally.

Within the simple framework of obtaining information, making observations, developing organization, and stimulating participation, Ann Arbor citizens have exercised their democratic function and, perhaps, have indicated a way to make democracy work for the best common good.

Jersey Citizens Work for Constitutional Convention

The New Jersey constitution of 1844 is the oldest state constitution outside New England. President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University, in a statement endorsing the movement for a constitutional convention, has recently pointed out that this old document "has been amended only four times and has been changed in no fundamental way." This statement is one of many which have been obtained from leading citizens by the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention, organized February 24, 1941.

That meeting, called by the New Jersey League of Women Voters, was attended by two hundred men and women representative of a broad cross-section of the organized civic and economic interests in the state. It adopted a statement of principles and program of action, and authorized the organization which has been busy ever since starting a long-time drive to secure a well considered revision of the state constitution.

Governor Edison advocated a constitutional convention during his election campaign, and convention bills

have been introduced by both Senator Hendrickson, the Governor's Republican opponent, and Democratic leaders.

In order to understand why the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention is digging in for a long campaign it is necessary to recall that six constitutional convention bills in previous years have passed the Assembly only to meet with an apparently immovable stumbling block in the Senate. The reason for this was brought into the open by the Governor in his inaugural address when he pointed out that the equal representation of the counties in the Senate permits 15 per cent of the people to elect a majority of that body, and referred to it as representative of "acres . . . rather than people."

Governor May Act

The revisionists hope to persuade enough Senators representing small counties that in the long run statesmanship and enlightened self-interest enjoin acquiescence in a popular demand for a convention. They are not, however, investing all their hope in an appeal to senatorial reason. Federal Judge William Clark and Arthur Vanderbilt, chairman of the New Jersey Judicial Council and recent president of the American Bar Association, have taken the lead in declaring that a valid revision of the constitution can be had through a convention called in behalf of the people by the Governor at the request of the more numerous branch of the legislature. The practical, legal, and theoretical arguments for this opinion are developed at length in an article by Messrs Bebout and Kass in the March 1941 number of the *University of Newark Law Review*.

The New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention, under the chairmanship of Mrs. L. H. Robbins, retired president of the New Jersey League of Women Voters, has office

space at the headquarters of the League of Women Voters at Kresge's department store, Newark. It is working through subcommittees on education, speakers, publicity, and county organization. The education committee alone has already enlisted about seventy persons, qualified by education or professional or civic experience, who have agreed to accept assignments to do various kinds of research, writing, speaking, teaching, etc. It has just concluded a five weeks' seminar, meeting in afternoon and evening sections, for persons interested in preparing themselves for more effective work. The weekly attendance has averaged about forty busy men and women. The Speakers Bureau has been gradually assembling a panel of speakers which now includes some fifty names, and an active speaking campaign is under way.

Courses on Constitution

All of the adult schools of the state have been circularized, and a number of them, including the well known South Orange—Maplewood School, have agreed to include in their fall programs a ten weeks course on the state constitution. The courses will be conducted by a panel of lecturers drawn largely from the faculties of leading educational and research institutions. In the meantime, work is progressing on the adaptation of material on the present constitution to different types of audiences.

The adoption of an act for a constitutional convention is only the first objective of the committee. Once a convention has been assured, the committee has set itself the job of assisting "the civic organizations and the people of the state generally in: (1) securing the selection of competent and representative delegates to the convention; (2) securing a thorough consideration by the convention of all serious pro-

posals emanating from any responsible person, group, or interest; (3) stimulating the full and informed discussion of all proposals submitted by the convention to the people."

Like the Committee on the New York State Constitution, organized by the National Municipal League in 1937, the New Jersey Committee expects to refrain from taking "a stand for or against specific proposals." It has stated its function to be "simply to serve the public interest as distinguished from special interests by seeing to it that the qualifications of all candidates for the convention be fully and fairly presented and that the issues of the convention be fully discussed."

One of the "principles" which the committee is emphasizing at every opportunity is expressed in the following statement, approved at its organization meeting in February: "A constitution is basic law, establishing the essential frame of government and guaranteeing essential rights and popular liberties. It should not be allowed to become a detailed code either of police regulations or of administrative organization and procedure. One of the first virtues of a constitution is to be brief."

It is too early to predict exactly when or how the old-fashioned New Jersey constitution will be revised, but it is certain that the people of the state are in the process of learning a great deal more about their basic law than they ever knew before. The members of the committee are confident that out of this learning, sooner or later, will come substantial improvements in the working constitution of the state.

JOHN BEBOUT, *Chairman*

Committee on Education
New Jersey Committee for
Constitutional Convention

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Westchester County Voters to Pass on Board Reform

***Fall referendum to be held
on the reduction of county
supervisors from 44 to 12***

BY A vote of thirty to ten the Westchester County, New York, Board of Supervisors decided to submit to popular referendum the question of reducing its own size from forty-four members to ten or twelve. The board defeated motions to submit also charter amendments creating a centralized county tax bureau and establishing a county debt commission. Thus it rejected in part the recommendations of its temporary committee on charter amendments which had reported unfavorably on all three proposals.

The Board of Supervisors ranks high as among the largest county governing bodies in the United States. The cumbersome nature of so large a body, diffusion of responsibility, and expense are the usual arguments directed against the present system. It is argued that a small body of ten or twelve members would be much superior. The Board of Supervisors has authorized its chairman to appoint a committee to divide the county into ten or twelve districts in order that the electorate may vote on a specific proposal next November.

The supervisors are, of course, vehemently opposed to the board reduction proposal. In its resolution ordering the referendum the board added a paragraph declaring the charter change to be unwise and asking for its defeat. It ordered the referendum only because the united efforts of the Westchester League of Women Voters, the

Westchester County Federation of Women, and the Federation of Westchester Taxpayers Associations, with a total membership of approximately 19,000, would have put the proposal on the ballot through initiative petitions. This admittedly would have been a "black eye" for the board. Individual board members already are making free use of such terms as totalitarian, demagogic, tyranny, Hitleristic, and un-American, while they declare themselves to be in favor of home rule, democracy, and the preservation of one's "soul and property."

Acceptance of the small board plan would mark the next logical step in the integration and centralization of government in Westchester County. The initial step was completed January 1, 1939, with the installation of a county charter¹ that provided among other things for an elective county executive.

Several steps of reorganization were completed by the executive within the one-year time limit specified by the charter. The department of the budget was organized and the director was made also director of personnel. A department of finance was established and the old office of county treasurer abolished. The department of public works merged the offices of county engineer, engineer to the park commission, and engineer of the sanitary sewer commission. Other departments newly organized include public welfare, health, law, and planning. The jurisdiction of the health department, in which participation is optional, was expanded in the past two years by adding two towns, one village, and one city. Playland, the county-owned amusement park, was removed from the jurisdiction of the park commission, and now is operated by the Playland Authority.

Consideration of the feasibility of a

county debt commission apparently now has been deferred to some future date. The commission would have had supervisory authority over new indebtedness incurred by all governmental units in the county. Although 1940 marked the peak year of debt service requirements for both the county and its local units, the proposal was in no sense a curative of present difficulties. It was a preventive to avoid their recurrence. The highest total of overlapping debt was reached in the spring of 1935 when it amounted to \$265,000,000. Five years later it had been reduced to \$239,000,000. At its peak the county debt was \$106,000,000, and it now has dropped to approximately \$93,000,000. The following tables indicate the nature of the debt burden:

*Overlapping Debt, Westchester County
January 1, 1940*

County	\$96,500,000
Cities	50,200,000
Schools	49,300,000
Towns	22,600,000
Villages	20,900,000

\$239,500,000

*Westchester County Debt
October 1, 1940*

Parks	\$59,400,000
Sewers	22,800,000
Buildings	8,400,000
Highways and Bridges	2,000,000
Welfare and Relief	900,000

\$93,500,000

Now that marked reduction in gross debt has been accomplished, debt service charges also should begin to decline. Total debt service for all units in 1940 amounted to \$25,000,000. It will be reduced gradually to half this amount by 1950 barring new loans or refunding issues. Debt service constitutes 34 per cent of the present cost of government in Westchester County, and it absorbs 46 per cent of the real estate taxes.

Although Westchester County appears to be emerging successfully from a

¹Adopted by popular vote November 2, 1937.

fiscal condition that approached chaos, advocates of the county debt commission would create this body to remember the lessons of experience. It would seek to prevent unbearable burdens, prohibit unwarranted expenditures, provide reasonable amortization plans, etc. The example of the bond issue of almost thirty years ago that will mature in the year 2012 should not be soon forgotten.

The problem of county-wide assessment machinery was a third question that was considered by the Board of Supervisors. At present each town and city and many of the villages have their own assessment machinery. Thus both towns and villages assess the property within the villages, giving rise to much needless duplication. For the levy of the county property tax it is necessary to have a board of equalization to adjust the under-assessment of the towns and cities in order to secure an equitable distribution of the county tax burden. The proposed amendment would have eliminated the duplication, abolished the need for a county board of equalization, and brought about the use of trained men in the assessment of property for taxation purposes.

Because of huge debt and heavy taxes, Westchester has not kept pace with neighboring counties in private building construction. With due care to stimulate the more favorable fiscal condition now emerging and with a continuation in the modernization of county and local government, this situation should be remedied very shortly.

Although the county executive is sponsoring the continuation of administrative reform, many political office-holders remain bitterly opposed. Members of the Board of Supervisors naturally distrust any changes in a system they have succeeded in mastering. Furthermore since the eighteen members from the towns are primarily the

towns' chief administrators they are opposed to any diminution of town powers. Hence centralizing the debt and assessment functions meets especially violent opposition from town supervisors as well as from other local officials.

Nebraska Legislation for Counties

Although the people of Nebraska rejected a county home rule amendment last November,¹ the 1941 legislature is resubmitting it to be voted on in the general election of November 1942. Other legislation for counties passed during this year's session includes:

Special tax levy authorization for relief purposes is continued;

Permission to county boards to use inheritance tax money for relief purposes or highways;

Requirement that county officers report fees collected on a monthly rather than a quarterly basis;

Permission to fund temporary debt, but only after referendum if requested by 30 per cent of the voters;

Authorization of special county commissions with power to issue revenue bonds in relation to inter-county bridges.

Arkansas Counties Collect Delinquent Personal Taxes

An act passed by the 1941 Arkansas legislature establishes in each county a delinquent tax board composed of the county judge, mayor of county seat, and chief school officer of the county which will supervise the collection of delinquent personal property taxes. The board is required to appoint collectors who are allowed the following commissions: for collections amounting to \$10 or less, 25 per cent of the amount collected; \$10 to \$25, a fee of \$5; \$25 to \$100, a fee of \$10; over \$100, 10 per cent of the amount collected.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for January 1941, p. 52.

Arkansas Expands Use of Special Districts

The 1941 Arkansas legislature has permitted counties to establish and operate suburban improvement districts outside, but adjacent to, cities of 5,000 or more population authorizing such districts to build street car lines, water-works, gas and electric lines, sewers, sidewalks, streets and highways. If part of the district should lie within an incorporated city, the majority of the property owners of such part must first give their approval of the proposed district.

New York City Again Tries for County Reform

The New York Citizens' Non-partisan Committee has once again filed a petition to bring the question of reform of the five counties within the city to a vote. The petition is a proposed amendment to the New York City charter "to reorganize county government by abolishing the county offices of sheriff, register, register of deeds, and registrar, creating the offices of city sheriff and city register and assigning the functions of the offices hereby abolished to the city sheriff, the city department of correction, and the city register." Employees of the newly created city office would be selected under the city's merit system.

Fifty thousand valid signatures are necessary to place the matter on the ballot. A total of 92,500 have been filed.

Just before the filing, the city council majority leader introduced three bills which would abolish the elective sheriffs and registers but make different disposition of their work and keep a considerable part of present patronage. The Citizens Non-Partisan Committee proceeded with the filing of its petitions, however, announcing that it would oppose the council proposals as unsatisfactory.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

California Returns Relief to Counties

No appropriation for next year made by legislature.

REFUSAL of the California state legislature to make an appropriation for the State Relief Administration before it adjourned in June automatically terminates the state's unemployment relief program when funds are exhausted this July and returns responsibility for all welfare and relief costs to the counties. It will also lead to the liquidation of the SRA.

The California setup for handling relief has been one of the most beneficial, in so far as local finances are concerned. Welfare is normally the responsibility of the counties in California, but for some years the state has assumed responsibility for the employable unemployed. Since this group accounts for the greater part of the emergency unemployment relief rolls, the counties have been relieved of the major financing cost. They have contributed to the fairly liberal scale of social security benefit payments and to steadily rising hospital and institutional budgets, of course, but the setup has relieved the local tax base of the heaviest part of the burden.

The legislature's action is due in part to the political friction between it and Democratic Governor Olson, and in part to recent rapid declines in the state relief rolls which many felt might have been swifter had relief been centered in the counties. Whether the counties can carry the burden alone without undue strain remains to be seen, but it is certain that the reduc-

tions in unemployment relief in recent months have been substantial.

According to the monthly statistical bulletins of the California State Relief Administration, the unemployment relief load carried by the state reached its low in the fall of 1936 with about 26,000 cases. From that time it fluctuated widely in accordance with seasonal influences (partly the seasonal demand for agricultural labor) but showed a steadily upward trend. The recent peak was reached in January 1940, when the load was nearly 115,000 cases. From January 1940 the case load declined to about 39,000 cases in the fall of 1940, rose to around 48,000 cases in January of this year, and dropped to 43,000 cases in February. Official figures for later months are not at hand, but the load was unofficially reported at less than 30,000 cases early in June.

Accelerating demands for workers in defense production, chiefly in the aircraft industry around San Diego and Los Angeles and more recently shipbuilding in Los Angeles and the San Francisco area, have contributed to the reduction in unemployment, as has a genuine revival of residential construction in Southern California.

The reduction in relief rolls has, of course, been paralleled by a decline in relief payments. For the first six months of 1939 direct relief payments by the SRA, exclusive of camp projects which care for a relatively few single men, amounted to just over \$19,245,000. For the second half of that year they rose to \$20,167,000. For the first half of 1940 they were \$18,601,000, and for the last half of last year \$10,664,000. January 1941 costs were \$1,755,000 as compared with \$4,196,000 for January 1940, and those for February 1941 were \$1,607,000 as compared with \$3,817,000 for the corresponding month last year.

The cumulative reduction for the period reported to date is even more

striking: payments for the first eight months of the 1940-41 fiscal year at \$14,025,000 are just 50 per cent of the payments for the first eight months of 1939-40. If during the fiscal year 1941-42 relief payments hold at the average shown for February 1941, they will be just over \$19,000,000 or about half of the \$38,768,000 shown for 1939-40. The legislature had been requested to appropriate \$32,000,000 for the biennium beginning July 1, a figure which would probably have been closer to actual requirements than the original appropriation in any recent period, when supplementary appropriations have been required.

While the reduction in relief costs has been sharp, the amounts now to fall entirely to the counties will be substantial in many cases. The SRA direct relief payments in 1939-40 in Los Angeles County were just under \$17,000,000, and while for the current year they are running about 40 per cent under this, or at about \$10,000,000, the addition of this lower sum to the current county tax levy would entail an increase of about 27 per cent in the levy. In Alameda County, where Oakland and the East Bay industrial communities are located, outlays this year are running about 67 per cent behind last year, and about \$1,000,000 will probably be spent this year, a sum equal to about 12 per cent of the county levy. In the city and county of San Francisco and San Diego County the outlays are much smaller proportionately, the current year's probable costs equalling only about 4 to 5 per cent of the current county tax levies.

In some of the rural counties where rising industrial employment is non-existent as an offset, and local resources are more limited, the situation may be serious. This is especially true since in many instances the county solution to the problem may be to deny

that need exists and simply refrain from making any additional outlays for relief.

Philadelphia Starts \$131,000,000 Refunding

In mid-June Philadelphia launched a refunding plan which if carried to completion will result in a net interest saving to the city of about \$32,000,000 over the next twenty-five years. The program, which involves the exchange of \$131,064,000 of the city's outstanding bonds for new securities, is entirely dependent on the voluntary coöperation of present bondholders. By the end of the first week, however, the nationwide syndicate of thirty-nine bond houses handling the plan for the city had effected the exchange of over \$36,000,000.

The city has about \$347,000,000 bonds which are subject to call and redemption at its option. Of these, about \$172,000,000 are callable from 1942 to 1947, and it is the greater part of these bonds which are involved in the refunding plan. Later this year the city plans to call and refund nearly \$9,000,000 additional bonds which are callable in October.

A unique feature of the plan is that the interest rate on the new refunding bonds remains the same as on the old bonds to the first call date of the latter, after which it is reduced. The chief inducement offered to present bondholders is therefore that of exchanging their present tax-exempt bonds for new tax-exempt securities which conceivably might not be available if the outstanding bonds were called in the usual course of time. The advantage to the city will be a reduction in annual debt charges on the bonds affected while at the same time their average maturity will be advanced about six years. If all the bonds embraced in the plan are submitted for exchange by the

holders, the city's annual requirement for bond interest and amortization will be reduced roughly \$800,000 annually over the next ten years and by smaller amounts thereafter.

Gasless Sundays Threaten Few States

Announcement that gasolineless Sundays may be the order on the northeastern seaboard because of the shortage of transport from the Gulf oil fields to the northeast has raised some fears for public finances in the affected area. The argument runs that the lessened consumption of gasoline will mean a lesser volume of state gasoline taxes and a consequent stringency in the finances of the units involved. There is nothing to indicate, however, that any serious or widespread situation is likely to develop.

The affected area, provided week-end gasoline rationing proves necessary, is that of New England and the north Atlantic states. Fortunately, there has not been in this area the widespread dependence on gasoline and motor fuel taxes which characterize some sections of the south and west. Collections are largely earmarked for construction and grants-in-aid for improvements and maintenance, and there is a complete absence of the pledging of sizeable amounts of gasoline tax revenues for debt service such as occur in Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, etc.

Such hardship as may occur to governmental units because of gasoline rationing would probably not arise from declining gas tax receipts, but rather in the decline in tolls on highway facilities supported by such special charges. The Port of New York Authority, with its Hudson tunnels and George Washington Bridge, might be hit by a severe reduction in pleasure driving, as might New York's Triborough Bridge and the Harrisburg-

Pittsburgh toll highway of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. Obligations of these units all slumped on the market following announcement that gasoline rationing might be required, but it seems exceedingly doubtful if the week-end pleasure driving which might be affected by such a decree would actually have more than a temporary effect on their finances.

St. Louis Survey Ordered

St. Louis' Board of Aldermen has ordered a sweeping study by department heads to canvass possibilities for increased efficiency and operating economies. The administrators are to investigate the feasibility of installing mechanical equipment to cut corners in their work, and at the same time to examine existing city ordinances to see if revisions are necessary to increase operating efficiency. Their findings and recommendations must be reported to the board not later than September 19, 1941, says the Municipal Finance Officers' Association.

Twenty-one States Grant Defense Tax Concessions

The number of states which now grant special tax concessions to contractors with defense orders has reached twenty-one.¹ Recent additions include Colorado, Maryland, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Wisconsin.

A civilian board of review has recently been appointed to assist the War Department in making investigations to determine the issue of tax concession certificates. This board is composed of fourteen men chosen from the field of law, accounting, labor, business, and public administration.

¹See also "States Grant Tax Concessions to Defense Contractors," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, p. 307.

Proportional Representation

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

P. R. Constitutional in Massachusetts

Interest in St. Louis Other P. R. News

IN a unanimous opinion handed down on June 24 the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held proportional representation and the city manager plan of government to be constitutional. The court rejected arguments against "Plan E," the optional plan of government adopted by the city of Cambridge last fall under which the Cambridge city council will be elected by P. R. this November and a city manager chosen when the new council takes office in January. The exhaustive opinion, covering thirty-seven typewritten pages, was written by Chief Justice Fred T. Field.

P. R. to the Fore in St. Louis

As this is being written for the REVIEW deadline, St. Louis is in the midst of a peculiar and almost volcanic upsurge of interest in P. R.

The origins of this interest date back a full quarter of a century. Around 1915 St. Louis changed to a single-chamber legislature of twenty-eight members elected at large. This supplanted a bicameral legislature whose House of Delegates was elected from the twenty-eight wards. In November 1916 (the day of the exciting Wilson-Hughes presidential election) St. Louis defeated a proposal to elect its aldermen by the list system of proportional representation. This was one of the early efforts of an American city to get P. R. coming

after the Ashtabula adoption, and was one of the very few instances, if not the only one, where the list system was seriously considered by an American city.

Since that time there has always been in St. Louis a fitful interest in P. R. The present revival is due to several circumstances.

Last April, just before the Democratic party lost control of the Board of Aldermen, that body voted to submit to the people a proposal to elect aldermen by wards. The Republican-elect mayor, Judge William D. Becker, campaigned earnestly for ward elections. Except for occasional letters to the people there was no mention of P. R. On June 7 a speaker at the Summer School of Catholic Action, which included a course on P. R., said: "St. Louis on September 16 must choose between elections at large by the block system and the wards election, both historically discredited in St. Louis. This is a choice between liver and limburger when we could just as easily get caviar by including P. R. as one of the alternatives." On this day all three St. Louis newspapers and the Mayor were publicly committed to the ward election.

On June 11 Willard Shelton of the *Star-Times* said editorially: "No single action by Mayor Becker would more greatly advance the cause of good government in St. Louis than the adoption of the suggestion made last week, denouncing the proposal to elect the aldermen by wards, asking the Mayor to sponsor, as an alternative, the system of proportional representation."

On the same day as the *Star* editorial, the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis criticized ward elections in its periodical, praised P. R., and recalled the fact that the citizens' survey made by Griffenhagen and Associates, which was made public last February, had said: "No one feature of municipal government has contributed so much to the

evils described by the general term ward politics as that of representation of wards instead of representation of the city as a whole. . . . P. R. merits consideration in this connection."

Somewhat like the 1912 Democratic National Convention in St. Louis, which burst into thunderous applause at the invocal "Lord's Prayer" because, as Chairman Olle James explained to the somewhat startled invocator, Archbishop Glennon, "they probably never heard it before," the Republican city administration, led by Mayor Becker—who got up at five o'clock in the morning to study P. R.—began an honest and earnest study of P. R.

An aldermanic committee of five was appointed to study the subject. In a spirit of fairness and open-mindedness they called before them on June 24 three known P. R. advocates—Ralph Blagden, managing editor of the *Star-Times*, Charleton Chute, director of the Governmental Research Institute, and Father Edward Dowling of the P. R. League.

On the morning of the hearing the *Globe-Democrat*, while praising P. R., said that it was too late now to get it on the September 16 ballot because of the impending recess of the aldermen and that July 15 would be the legal deadline. To counteract this the Governmental Research Institute's survey of national municipal experts, including Charles A. Beard, Arthur W. Bromage, Richard S. Childs, C. A. Dykstra, John A. Fairlie, Mayo Fesler, Harold F. Gosnell, Luther Gulick, Joseph P. Harris, Isidor Loeb, Norman MacDonald, Charles E. Merriam, W. E. Mosher, William B. Munro, Thomas H. Reed, Clarence E. Ridley, Lent D. Upson, Leonard D. White, and authorities of similar calibre, appeared just in time for the hearing.

The survey gave quotations from letters and said: "Probably the most important finding of this study . . . is

the fact that not one of the specialists personally favored, as a first choice, the election of all a city's aldermen by wards. . . . The replies showed a marked preference for election of aldermen by P.R." Of the fifty-four answers received "twenty-seven . . . favored election by P.R., eighteen [others] indicated that they personally favored election at large, either with or without P.R."

At the hearing a suggestion was made that both the ward method and P.R. be submitted as was done in New York City in November 1936. It was also suggested that the fourteen aldermen who are to be elected in 1943 be chosen by P.R. for four-year terms at salaries of \$4,800 a year, instead of the \$1,800 now paid. The fourteen members whose terms will expire in 1945 would retain their seats at their present salaries until that time. After that the posts would cease to exist.

If any of the present members chose to run for one of the \$4,800 posts, he could do so. If elected, he would start upon the new better-paid term and the seat he holds would be abolished. If he failed of election he would complete his present term without change.

As the REVIEW goes to press the aldermanic committee has announced a public hearing on P.R. for Tuesday, July 1.

The surprising open-mindedness of the city administration is almost the only asset the few P.R. advocates in St. Louis have. There is no popular grasp of or demand for P.R. here (although there is probably less of both for the alternatives to P.R.). Yet substantial values may well come out of the P.R. interest in St. Louis—the governmental research survey, the advertising of P.R. for the 1943 Missouri constitutional convention, and the lesson for P.R. advocates that a quiet, apparently ineffectual committee of P.R. folks should exist in every city to be ready for unexpected opportunities for P.R., such as developed one

time in Wheeling, another time as a result of the Seabury investigation in New York City.

This is written on June 26, several days before the public hearing. The writer's guess is that P.R. will not get on the ballot in September. The hurdles of apathy, constitutional obscurity, statutory hazards look impossible, but the mood of the little handful of P.R. missionaries in St. Louis is that they would rather lose in a cause that must ultimately prevail than win in a cause that must ultimately lose.

REV. EDWARD DOWLING, S.J.

The Queen's Work, St. Louis

No Action in Illinois Senate

Although, following its defeat in the Illinois House of Representatives, legislation was introduced in the State Senate which would have permitted Illinois cities and villages to adopt P.R. and the manager plan by petition and popular vote, action was blocked by failure to secure attendance of a quorum at scheduled committee hearings. The proposal therefore died in committee.

This year's bills would have permitted the adoption of P.R. not only in connection with the city manager plan, as previously reported in this department, but also in connection with a mayor and small council plan of government. In the latter case the corresponding Hare system of preferential voting was provided for the election of the mayor. P.R. did not have to be proposed with either plan but could be proposed by petition, in which case it was provided that it should be submitted separately and take effect if both the plan of government submitted and the P.R. question were approved by the voters.

Among the organizations which supported the Illinois enabling legislation this year were the Illinois district of the American Legion, Illinois Chamber of Commerce, Illinois Congress of

Parents and Teachers, Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, Illinois League of Women Voters, Illinois and Eastern-Iowa District of Kiwanis International, Insurance Brokers Association of Illinois, Illinois organization of the National Council of Jewish Women, and more than two hundred organizations in the city of Chicago.

P. R. Taught in Catholic Summer School

The Summer School of Catholic Action, conducted in various cities since 1931 under the auspices of *The Queen's Work*, The Sodality of Our Lady, St. Louis, lists this year one full course and some individual sessions dealing with P. R. under the leadership of Father Edward Dowling, S.J., associate director of the summer school, who contributed the article on the St. Louis situation earlier in this department.

The first summer school sessions were held at St. Louis University, June 9-14; future sessions are scheduled for Hotel William Penn, Pittsburgh, August 4-9; Boston College, Boston, August 11-16; Fordham University, New York, August 18-23; and Morrison Hotel, Chicago, August 25-30.

Father Dowling's special course on P. R. is subdivided as follows:

Monday: What is Proportional Representation?

Tuesday: History and Status of Proportional Representation.

Wednesday: Panacea or Menace?

Thursday: Opinion Quota versus Geographic Districts or Occupational Groups.

Friday: Fighting Parties or Coöperating Parts?

Saturday: A New Plan of Proportional Representation.

The Friday session of Father Dowling's course on "Social Tools" is devoted to "Proportional Representation

Elections" and the Saturday session to "Proxy Revision Elections," a flexible form of P. R.

Wm. Allen White, H. L. Shattuck Join P. R. Council

The trustees of the Proportional Representation League (now functioning as a department of the National Municipal League) announce with satisfaction the acceptances of two distinguished citizens to fill vacancies on the League's advisory council, which serves as a group of official sponsors for the P. R. movement in the United States:

William Allen White of Emporia, Kansas, who holds a unique place of esteem among American publicists and who has long regarded proportional representation as one of the fundamental improvements needed to strengthen democracy; and

Henry L. Shattuck, member of the Boston city council, vice president of the National Municipal League, and acting president of Harvard University during the recent absence of President Conant on an official mission to England, a staunch supporter of P. R. who helped to secure the right of Boston citizens to adopt it for their council from this year's Massachusetts legislature.

Lord Parmoor

The Rt. Hon. Lord Parmoor, Lord President of the Council in the first British Labor party government in 1924, who died July 1 in Buckinghamshire at the age of eighty-eight, had been since 1925 an honorary vice-president of the American P. R. League. Starting as a Conservative member of the House of Commons and later elevated to the peerage with Liberal endorsement, Lord Parmoor had a long and influential career as a statesman and internationalist. He was the father of Sir Stafford Cripps, the present British

ambassador to Russia. For many years he was chairman of the Executive Council of the British P. R. Society, in which capacity his honorary position with the American P. R. League signified the cordial coöperation that has always marked the relations between those working for P. R. in the two countries.

A Free Invitation from the P. R. League

This is a reminder of the invitation announced in our May issue for any member of the National Municipal League to become a member of the Proportional Representation League, Incorporated, without payment of additional dues, simply by sending a request to Elsie S. Parker, assistant secretary of the P.R. League, at the office of the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York City.

The P.R. work is being carried on, under an amalgamation agreement, as part of the regular work of the National Municipal League; but certain P.R. policies are determined from time to time by P.R. League members, and the trustees of the P.R. League would like to have all members of the National Municipal League who are interested in P.R. in a position to participate.

The P.R. League holds an annual membership meeting each fall, at which the progress of P.R. during the year is reported and discussed, at the time and place of the National Municipal League's Annual Conference on Government.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 396)

signed the constitution smugly or carelessly omitted any provision for the calling of another convention to revise it. So some "leaders" argue that it just simply can never be done.

Others urge Governor Edison, as the elected representative of all the people, to call a convention, leaving the legislature to continue its customary circumlocution.

It is difficult, of course, to convince the people of a state that their government costs more than it should largely because it has not, in its basic organization, kept pace with progress. They can drive around and see for themselves that they have roads, police and fire protection, many public offices and employees, and all the other customary appurtenances. The good that is being accomplished under government auspices is there for them to see every day, so it is easier for them to dismiss the recurrent scandals with a tolerant shrug.

But the people are, at last, learning something about the inadequacy of the old system. Speakers and publicity from the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Convention,¹ which has been established by civic and economic interests of the state, are beginning to penetrate indifference. They may yet be able to unfreeze Jersey's "democracy."

¹See also "Jersey Citizens Work for Constitutional Convention," p. 442 this issue.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Public Personnel Administration (Revised Edition). By William E. Mosher and J. Donald Kingsley. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1941. x, 671 pp. \$5.

Through this reviewer, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW gave to the first edition of this book an enthusiastic welcome.¹ The book at that time filled a real gap in the literature on public administration. No less welcome is this revision which adds to the richness of the original volume the wealth of experience acquired in the field of public personnel administration in the period from 1934 to 1940.

All students of personnel administration recognize the trend that has been taking place over a long period of years in public personnel agencies, changing such agencies from mere devices to keep the spoilsmen out of government to arms of the administration exercising vital positive functions urgently required by operating departments, fiscal control agencies, and appropriating authorities.

Take the single function of classification of positions to which the authors devote a modest thirty-four pages. Without an adequate classification plan, it is impossible for the chief executive, the budget authority, the legislature, or citizen organization to see the governmental organization whole. Without such a plan, it is equally impossible for a career system to be devised which will provide for promotional opportunities within the service. Without such a plan, including job specifications, it is impossible to carry out an intelligent recruitment program. In brief, it is not going too far to say that position classification is the foundation

of the public administrative structure. Yet it is within comparatively recent years that the real importance of classification as a personnel function has been recognized.

The flow of progress in the public personnel field has been tremendously rapid in the last few years—indeed, the publishers are willing to venture the statement that there have been more advances within these few years (since the issuance of the first edition) than in the preceding fifty. The new edition records these advances and provides the reader with a living textbook on the subject of public personnel administration.

H. P. J.

Leaders for Adult Education. By Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet. New York City, American Association for Adult Education, 1941. ix, 202 pp. \$1.50.

Whether civic work is your vocation or your avocation this handbook by the Overstreets will give new meaning to your civic job.

The book is much more than a treatise on techniques in the adult education movement. The authors feel as well as think. They recognize a community when they see one—they also feel it. They know community leadership when they see it—and they feel that too.

From this keen sense of human values they weave into this little book the philosophy behind the job of welding a group of adults into a community.

Yes, there are chapters about specific steps adult education leaders ought to take. But those chapters start from the assumption that the leaders are human beings working among human beings. The Overstreets keep the forest

¹See issue for December 1936, p. 753.

in full view at all times, even when they're talking about the trees.

Against the background of a well rounded philosophy on the function of adult education the authors sketch specific programs of action in the latter half of the book.

Of course the qualifications of the authors to deal with their subject need no comment.

E. N. T.

The Municipal Year Book, 1941.

Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1941. x, 662 pp. \$5.00.

The *Municipal Year Book for 1941* continues the reputation of its predecessors, published each year since 1934, as being the outstanding single authoritative source of vital information about American cities. Carefully edited and with its vast fund of information arranged for ready reference, the volume contains more than 100,000 statistical facts about the 2,042 cities of over 5,000 population.

Besides the usual accounts of developments in the various fields of municipal activity, new sections this year include debt and retirement plans, credit unions, electric plants, airports, health departments, and sewer rentals.

The *Year Book* is an indispensable source of information for students of government, governmental researchers, and public officials. It answers almost every conceivable question about the administration of American municipalities—information which a few years ago was spottily available and then only as the result of individual researches. The information was contributed by four thousand public officials and two hundred other authorities.

A. W.

Black Belt County—Rural Government in the Cotton Country of Alabama. By Karl A. Bosworth. University, Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1941. vii, 114 pp.

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama is initiating a series of case studies of typical Alabama county governments. *Black Belt County*, the first of the series, is believed to reveal the picture as found in approximately ten counties in the state.

Because of the intimate nature of the study, the names of persons and places are fictitious, and even the many photographs come from outside the county, although they have been selected as being illustrative of local conditions.

Although the farm population of the black belt section is 95 per cent colored, the significance of the title lies in the color of the soil and not in that of the county's residents. Mr. Bosworth gives an intimate, informative, and very readable account of the problems and processes of county government in an area that is attempting to bridge the transition from a collapsed cotton aristocracy to some new form of social order based on diversified agriculture.

E. A. M.

Urban Planning and Land Policies.

(Volume II of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee.) Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1939. v, 366 pp. \$1.

Belatedly there is now published a compilation of the results of three basically important studies by consultants who assisted in the work of the Urbanism Committee, headed by Clarence A. Dykstra, leading to the transmittal in 1937 to President Roosevelt by the National Resources Committee of its report on *Our Cities—Their*

Role in the National Economy. Volume I of the supplementary report on *Urban Government*, was published in 1939. The present volume also carries that date, but appeared only this year. It is in three parts, distinct in subject-matter, but mutually related.

The first portion, somewhat longer than either of the others, is a storehouse of information on practical planning achievements in 144 communities where comprehensive planning has been possible; twenty-nine of these are described in some detail including communities developed by governmental, industrial, real estate, philanthropic, and other agencies. This part of the volume is by Arthur C. Comey and Max S. Wehrly, with the coöperation of the Department of Regional Planning of Harvard University.

A relatively brief division of the entire volume is devoted to "Urban Living Conditions," prepared by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils, with research assistance by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago and clerical aid by the NYA and the WPA. It deals with economic and sociological aspects of housing, and the physical characteristics of existing urban dwellings throughout the nation.

The third division, on "Urban Land Policies," embodies a far-reaching investigation and presentation of fundamentals of public policy, reflected in law and in practice, which have conditioned and continue to affect urban development in the United States, with proposals for progress. It has been prepared with painstaking and discerning care by Harold S. Bottenheim, assisted by four other experts in planning, housing, and taxation. This concluding portion deals with the obstacles, and their possible remedies, to the comprehensive achievement of orderliness, efficiency, and practical beauty in existing cities. The obstacles and remedies include liberty, license, and control in the

use of land; the system of land ownership, private and public; blight, slums, neighborhood planning and other rehabilitation; and the role of taxation of real estate or land values in hindering or helping effective city planning.

H. M. O.

Caravans to the Northwest. By John Blanchard (under the direction of the Northwest Regional Council). Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. 123 pp. illus. \$1.90.

The author of *Caravans to the Northwest* is awake to the fact that all the lore of the advertising man, industriously garnered these many years by the commercial researchers in order to devise better ways to sell stockings, soap, refrigerators, and deodorants, has lain till now neglected by those who have to sell research and knowledge. Mr. Blanchard has taken steps to remedy the neglect. His book is a collection of economic, political, and sociological facts, vital in the future development of the great Pacific Northwest. He addresses himself to the layman, to whom he deems these facts important. And he does it well by means of pictures and drawings, charts and graphs, trick layouts, slick paper, dramatic color combinations, and vivid words in big type. In short, he has unwrapped the whole bag of tricks of the commercial salesman.

Traditionally-minded researchers are sure to be shocked by *Caravans to the Northwest*. There are no footnotes, nor does Mr. Blanchard go out of his way to cite chapter and verse in appendices or by any other scholarly means. He believes documentation belongs in the files when the man in the street is to be approached.

One thing is certain. Some may disapprove of *Caravans to the Northwest*, but no one will be bored.

M. R.

Additional Books and Reports

Defense

Defense on Main Street. A Guide-book for Local Activities for Defense and Democracy. By Council for Democracy and National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. New York City, 1941. 88 pp. 25 cents.¹

Interstate Trade Barriers

Interstate Trade Barriers. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. (The Reference Shelf, Vol. 14, No. 2.) New York City, H. W. Wilson Co., 1940. 215 pp. \$1.25.

Interstate Trade Barriers. By Roy V. Peel. Berkeley, California, United States Department of Agriculture, Division of Program Study and Discussion, 1940. 12 pp. mimeo.

What Can Be Done About Trade Barriers. Excerpts from Addresses before Tax Institute Symposium on "Tax Barriers to Trade." Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 16 pp. 25 cents.

Legislation

Committee System of the Illinois General Assembly. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. ii, 23 pp. mimeo.

Current Ideas in 1939 State Legislatures. A Review of Bills Introduced and Laws Enacted During the Year. Compiled by Margaret W. Stewart. Washington, D. C., United States Superintendent of Documents, 1941. 86 pp. 10 cents.

Second Biennial Report of the Illinois Legislative Council. Submitted to The Legislature December 1940. Compiled by William F. Gibbs. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 37 pp.

Payroll Systems

A Centralized Payroll System for Our State Government. By Alvin A. Burger and G. G. Tegnell. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 24 pp. mimeo.

Personnel

Changes in State and National Government and Their Significance for the Civil Service. By Roy V. Peel. Berkeley, California, United States Department of Agriculture, Division of Program Study and Discussion, 1940. 13 pp. mimeo.

Civil Service in Massachusetts. By Mrs. Fritz J. Roethlisberger. Amherst, Bureau of Public Administration, Massachusetts State College, 1940. 6 pp. mimeo.

The Human Element in Personnel Management. By Lawrence A. Appley. Washington, D. C., Society for Personnel Administration, 1941. 34 pp. 35 cents.

Planning

Federal Aids to Local Planning. By National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. vii, 151 pp. 30 cents.

Primers, Manuals, and Elementary Works on Planning. A Selected Bibliography. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1940. 3 pp. mimeo. 10 cents.

Politics

Negro Political Behavior. A Bibliography. Compiled by George Snowden. Bloomington, The Institute of Politics, Indiana University, 1941. 19 pp. mimeo. 10 cents.

Political Action Groups in New Hampshire. Summary of the Proceedings of the Third Institute of Public Affairs of the University of New Hampshire. Edited by Thorsten V. Kaljarvi. Durham, University of New Hampshire, 1940. 48 pp.

¹For a review of this publication see p.

Political Polls. A New Power in Politics. By Roberts Chickering and Douglas Clack. Bloomington, Institute of Politics, Indiana University, 1941. 7 pp. mimeo.

The Old Deal and the New. By Charles A. Beard and George H. E. Smith. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940. 294 pp. \$2.

Purchasing

Centralized Purchasing in New York. By Stanley W. Zeitlin. New York City, Department of Investigation, 1940. iii, 35 pp. mimeo.

Recall

Recall: A Bibliography of Material in the John R. Haynes Collection. Compiled by Josephine Ver Brugge Zeitlin. Los Angeles, California, The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 1941. 41 pp. 50 cents.

Recreation

Development of Public Recreation in Metropolitan Chicago. By Elizabeth Halsey. Chicago, Chicago Recreation Commission, 1940. xii, 334 pp. \$1. (Apply to Municipal Reference Bureau, City Hall, Chicago.)

Safety

Committee on Tests for Intoxication, 1940 Report. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1940. 35 pp.

Bicycle Safety. Final Report of Committee on Bicycle Problems. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1941. 31 pp.

Taxation and Finance

A Basic Financial and Improvement Plan for the City of Dallas, Texas. By James W. Aston, City Manager, Dallas, 1940. ix, 56 pp.

Debt Limits. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Exemption of Food under Sales Tax Statutes. Springfield, Research Depart-

ment, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. ii, 29 pp. mimeo.

Functions and Duties of Town Finance Committees (Massachusetts). By Danforth W. Comins. Amherst, Bureau of Public Administration, Massachusetts State College, 1941. 10 pp. mimeo.

Income Tax Productivity. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Minnesota Taxes. St. Paul, Minnesota Taxpayers Association, 1941. 26 pp.

Over-All Tax Limitation. The Problem of Application in Kansas, and a Summary of the Laws of Other States. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1941. 45 pp. mimeo.

Real Estate Tax Delinquency and Tax Foreclosure Suits. Report of the Taxation Committee. Chicago, City Club, 1941. 11 pp.

Reorganization of Kansas State Financial Administration. Possible Plans for Revision of Present System, Structural and Procedural Changes Involved, and Problems for Legislative Consideration. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1940. 70 pp. mimeo.

Revenue Bonds. By Frederick L. Bird. Los Angeles, Calif., The Haynes Foundation, 1941. 45 pp. Fifteen cents.

State Fiscal Capacity of Maryland and Other Selected States. By V. J. Wyckoff and Wm. Paul Walker. College Park, University of Maryland, 1940. 40 pp.

Tax-Rate Limits and Assessment Ratios, 1925-1940. Chicago, Illinois Tax Commission, 1940. 180 pp.

The Shape of Taxes to Come. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 16 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Trend of Tax Delinquency, 1930-1940, Cities of over 50,000 Population.¹ By

¹For further description of this publication see this REVIEW for May 1941, p. 306.

Frederick L. Bird. New York City, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1941. 38 pp. \$2.00.

Unemployment Relief

The Administration of Federal Work Relief. By Arthur W. Macmahon, John D. Millett, and Gladys Ogden. Chicago, Public Administration Service (for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council), 1941. x, 407 pp. \$3.75.

Youth Work Programs. Problems and Policies. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1941. xi, 195 pp. \$1.75.

Voting

Absentee Voting. Types of Absent Voting Laws and Summary of Present Procedures in the Various States. Topeka, Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council, 1941. iii, 21 pp.

Zoning

Municipalities and Airport Zoning. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1941. 15 pp. mimeo. 50 cents.

Twenty Years Zoning in Kansas (1921-1941). Reporting Kansas' zoning experiences and achievements, the state zoning laws with court decisions thereon, together with the author's observations. By Albert B. Martin. Lawrence, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1941. 35 pp. \$2.50.

WINNING THE BILLBOARD WAR

(Continued from Page 411)

duced in your own state legislature, and support it all the way through. If no such bill has been introduced,

get a copy of the model drawn up by the American Automobile Association and endorsed by the National Roadside Council, and have a reliable and friendly legislator introduce that. Get it out of committee, and voted upon in open session. If your state is fortunate and this has been done, look over your regulatory laws and see where they can be strengthened. It is much easier to amend an old law than to pass a new one.

In sum, hit them where it hurts most.

THE METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

(Continued from Page 408)

explain to their constituents, especially where a saving in local taxes is indicated.

Functional consolidation has not much attraction for the crusader. It is no white charger on which one can ride triumphantly to a resounding victory. It works like the mole, undermining the small and incompetent units. The time will come when, the mining and sapping having been carried far enough, our anachronistic and unwieldy system of local government areas will quietly collapse and a more rational system emerge.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Dr. Reed's article above is the last of a series on metropolitan problems. All of the articles will be available shortly in a volume entitled *City Growing Pains—A Series of Discussions of Metropolitan Area Problems*.